4-596 (REV. 11-20-73)

61- HQ-291

SERIALS 1-

SECTION 1

61-HQ-291-1

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: 49825
By: MKS NARA Date: 5/31/2016

FBI - CENTRAL RECORDS CENTER

HQ - HEADQUARTERS

Class / Case #	Sub	Vol.	Serial #
0061 291	1	1	OPEN

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61-291-39 INVESTIGATION

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By MKS Date 5/31/2016

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Transfer-Call 3421

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE
In replying refer to

10110-154
M.I.4. F.

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
WASHINGTON

November 3, 1921.

Mr. W. J. Burns,
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

61-

My dear Mr. Burns:

Herewith is transmitted, as of possible interest, a copy of a report taken from the Situation Survey of the Sixth Corps Area, for the week ending October 29, 1921 concerning Emma Goldman.

Yours very truly,

For the A. C. of S., G-2:

W. H. COWLES,
Major, Cavalry,
Chief, M.I.4.

1 encl.
hjn

NOV 3 1921
DIVISION

NOV 23 1921

61-291-

RECORDED

10110-154

WAR DEPARTMENT 3294

Emma Goldman Reactive.

//Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada.// (H-1).

Source: Sixth Corps Area, Weekly Situation Survey - week ending October 29, 1921. 255-A-14 page 10.

10110-154
M.I.4. F

November 3, 1921.

Mr. W. J. Burns,
Chief, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Burns:

Herewith is transmitted, as of possible interest, a copy of a report taken from the Situation Survey of the Sixth Corps Area, for the week ending October 29, 1921 concerning Emma Goldman.

Yours very truly,

For the A. C. of S., G-2:

W. H. COWLES,
Major, Cavalry,
Chief, M.I.4.

1 encl.
hjn

61-291

R:JWM
~~291~~-1

November 10, 1921.

61-291-4

Mr. M. F. Bookman,
Post Office Box, 906,
Buffalo, New York.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Departme

> icals are said to be trying to enlist the aid
> oviet legal representatives in New York City
> secure a passport from the Soviet Government for
> mma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a per-
> mit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she
> intends to go to Canada."

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report.

Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter th country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous Gene Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover

Director.

61-291

61-291

GFR: JWM
[redacted]-1

November 10,1921.

Mr. A. L. Barkey,
Post Office Box, 831,
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department:

> "Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada."

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report.

Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter this country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous General Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns

Director

61-291-3

61-291

GPR:JWM
~~61-291~~-1

November 10, 1921.

Mr. Bliss Morton,
Federal Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department:

"Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada."

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report.

Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter the country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous General Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns

Director.

61-291-4

61-291

GFR:JWM
~~61-291~~-1

November 10, 1921.

Mr. Charles Jenkins,
Post Office Box, 4b8,
Norfolk, Va.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department:

> "Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada."

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report. Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter this country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous General Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns

Director.

61-291-5

GFR/LMR

61-291

November 10, 1921.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,

Department of State,

Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Hurley:

As of possible interest and for such attention as you may deem advisable, I am quoting the following report which was received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department.

> "Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada".

I am endeavoring at the present time to secure information from my eastern offices confirming this report.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns

Director.

61-291-6

61-211

GFR:JWM
~~61-291-1~~

November 10, 1921.

Mr. J. P. Rooney,

Post Office Box, 455,

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Depa

"Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada".

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report.

Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter this country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous General Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

Director.

61-291-7

61-291

GWR/LMR

~~61-291-1~~

November 10, 1921.

Mr. E. J. Brennan,

P.O. Box 241, City Hall Station,

New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department:

> "Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada."

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report.

Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter this country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous General Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

Director.

GFR:JWM
61-291-X

November 10, 1921.

Mr. Charles A. Bancroft,
Post Office Box, 3185,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department:

> "Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada."

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report.

Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter this country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous General Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

Director.

GFR:JWL
61-291-1

November 10, 1921.

Mr. C. D. McKean,
Post Office Box, 5[illegible],
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department:

> "Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada."

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report.

Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter this country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous General Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Burns

Director.

61-291-10

DATE 3/14/79 2333 Bajlgh

GFR:JWM

61-291

November 10, 1921.

Mr. Walter C. Foster,
Post Office Box, 451,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sir:

The following information has been received from the office of the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department:

> "Radicals are said to be trying to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for Emma Goldman. She has applied to the Soviet for a permit to leave Russia and go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada."

Kindly advise if you have secured any information confirming this report.

Necessary action should be taken to detect the arrival of this individual should she attempt to enter this country in your vicinity.

A photograph will be found in a previous General Intelligence Bulletin from this office.

Very truly yours,

Director.

61-291-1

DATE 3/14/79 BY 2333 Dej/gla

GFR/LMR

61-291-12

November 17, 1921.

Mr. Bliss Morton,

Federal Building,

Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your communication of the 12th instant concerning Emma Goldman.

I would appreciate your keeping in close touch with this informant and securing any further information which he may develop along this line.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns

Director,

DATE 3/14/79 BY 2333 Hq/ghd

E OF
ENT IN CHAR

TELEPHONE, MAIN 4140

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation
304 FEDERAL BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO

November 12, 1921.

61 291

Director, Bureau of Investigation,
U. S. Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Re; EMMA GOLDMAN, Anarchist.

Dear Sir:

Bureau letter, GFR-JWM, 21-291-1, of the 10th instant, quotes an excerpt from a report of the Military Intelligence of the War Department, to the effect that EMMA GOLDMAN desires to leave Russia, go to England and thence to Canada, and that her friends are endeavoring to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representative in New York City to secure a passport for her from the Soviet Government.

This question was taken up with a Cleveland organization, which employs a confidential operative among radicals, and from this organization it was learned that they sometimes furnish the M.I.D. with copies or excerpts of the operative's report. The organization produced the operative's report on this matter, which reads:

> "EMMA GOLDMAN is actually trying to return to America. She has applied to Soviets for a permit to leave Russia to go to England, from where she intends to go to Canada, but the Soviets refused her a permit on the ground that she may carry on counter revolutionary propaganda after she gets out of Russia. A letter from Emma Goldman, giving this information was received by Harry Weinberger, her attorney, Weinberger is now trying to enlist the aid of Atty. Chas. Recht, the Soviet legal representative in New York City, to secure a passport from the Soviets for her."

61-291-12

Very truly yours,

Bliss Morton,

Bliss Morton,
Special Agent-in-Charge.

L. H. H.

Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation.
314 P.O.BLDG.,
PHILADELPHIA:

JFMcD:JS

211

November 14, 1921 -

Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C. -

RE: EMMA GOLDMAN
(Passport Matter)

Dear Sir:-

With reference to Bureau letter dated November 10th 1921, initialed "GFR:JWM", in which it is requested that we forward any information we may have concerning the report that EMMA GOLDMAN is trying to enter the United States, wish to state that we have no such information.

Respectfully,

Walter C. Foster

WALTER C. FOSTER
Special Agent in Charge. -

NOV 22 1921

61-291-13

RECORDED

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, ST. PAUL 6681 AND 6682
POST OFFICE BOX 523

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
~~ROOM 209 POST OFFICE BUILDING~~ Abell Bldg.
BALTIMORE, MD.

November 15,1921

NOV 17 1921

Noted

Wm.J.Burns,Esq.,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir;

Replying to inquiry contained in Bureau letter of Nov.10,1921, initials GFR, 61-291-1, relative to possible attempt on the part of EMMA GOLDMAN to return to this country, via England and Canada,- beg to state that no information concerning this report, confirmatory or otherwise, has been obtainable here to date. This office will continue to keep in touch with this matter and the proper local officials are being requested to detect the arrival of this alien should she attempt to enter the country in this vicinity.

Respectfully,
Clarence D. McKean
Clarence D.McKean,
Acting Agent-in-Charge.

DEC 5 1921

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Dej/ghw

61-291-14

RECORDED

Instructions receiv[illegible] m Special Agent in Charge M[illegible]
GFR:JWM 21-291- 10, 1921

1-291

REPORT MADE AT:	MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REP[illegible]
Buffalo, N.Y.	11/ 15/21	11/10/21	[illegible].Bucha[illegible]

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

EMMA GOLDMAN ANARCHIST

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Buffalo, New York.

18717

Referring to above letter which requests information in connection with a report that subject is trying to enlist the aid of Soviet representatives to secure a passport from the Soviet Government to enable her to re-enter the United States, - Agent has made inquiries among informants, etc. and has been unable to secure any information confirming this report.

Investigation will be continued in Rochester where she formerly lived and elsewhere, and should any further information be obtained same will be immediately submitted. The immigration officials along the Canadian border have been notified to take every precaution to detect the arrival of subject.

Continued.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/77 BY 2333 Dej/pw

DEC 6 - 1981

15

61-291-15

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington-2; Buffalo-1

WEB-CMR

7—1169

Instru[illegible] of Spec. Agt. C[illegible]

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MAD[illegible]	
NEW YORK, N.Y.	11/16/21	11/14/21	GEORGE J. STARR

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: EMMA GOLDMAN
Alleged Attempt to Return to the U.S.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Noted
F.D.W.

Agent interviewed Mr. Charles Recht, the legal representative of the Soviet Government in the U.S. and in the course of a personal conversation on other matters, questioned him about the above subject.

Mr. Recht stated that he had never acted in any legal matters for Emma Goldman, did not know her personally and in view of the fact that she had not been able "to get along" with the Soviet Government, he would not be at all apt to take any steps on her behalf at this time, as he was acting for the Soviet Government only. Whatever private practice he has is of a purely local nature.

Proper notification has been sent by letter to the Immigration officers in this district to be on the lookout for subject.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION NOV 19 1921

DEC 16 1921
61-291-16

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Gai/ghw

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:	CJS/WED
GFR/LMR 61-291-1 11/10/21		7—1160

ORIGINAL

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation.

196/103. 7 Water Street, Boston, Mass.

WJW/D.

November 21, 1921.

61-291

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE NOV 23 1921 DIVISION

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

In reply to its letter No. 61-291-1 of the 10th instant, initialed GFR-JWM, the Bureau is informed that this office has no information, nor has it heard of any rumors of radicals attempting to enlist the aid of the Soviet legal representatives in New York City to secure a passport from the Soviet Government for EMMA GOLDMAN. If any such information should come to the attention of this office the Bureau will be notified.

The Immigration officers, including the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at Montreal, Canada, have been advised confidentially concerning the possible attempt of EMMA GOLDMAN to re-enter the United States.

Very truly yours,

Charles A. Bancroft

Charles A. Bancroft,
Special Agent in Charge.

JAN 7 1922

61-291-17

RECORDED

NOV 1921

ADD BY W. J. F.

2 9 1/14

Bureau letter GFR 21-291-1 November 10, 1921.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Detroit, Mich.	Nov.21,1921.	Nov.18,1921.	J. S. Apelman

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

EMMA GOLDMAN Anarchist.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Detroit, Michigan.

In connection with this matter, letters have been written to P. L. Prentiss and Earl F. Coe, Inspectors in Charge of the U. S. Immigration Service at Detroit and Pt. Huron respectively, requesting their cooperation.

No information could be secured through informants or otherwise that would confirm the report that EMMA GOLDMAN is making preparations to come to this country.

Read by
NOV 29 1921
Wm. J. Burns

61-291-18

RECORDED

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

7—1169

ORIGINAL

Bu copy

GFR.JR.
~~100-358-15-268~~
Dept File #

December 20,1921

61-291 18718

Mr. Ferris Lightfoot,
116 West Oxford St.,
Alliance, Ohio.

Dear Sir -

I have your communication of the 10th instant enclosing a newspaper clipping concerning the possible return to this country of Emma Goldman.

I want to assure you that this matter is receiving appropriate attention by my agents, and thank you for your interest in calling same to my attention.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Sej/ghw

61-291-19

317

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
U-2 311.6124 K 47/4

December 19, 1921.

-291

Dear Mr. Burns:

I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite.

Very truly yours,

W. Hurley

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

JAN 14 1922

61-291-20

RECORDED

62

2

Alliance O. 1/2/22

W. J. Burns Director
U. S. Dept. of Justice
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir-

I do not wish to intrude on your time, but I do feel that such news as is given to the general public as this Item which I here with attach should be given attention.

I am surprised that the Publishing Co would even consider for a moment an Item in reference to this much tacked of person who is considered a dangerous person to be in this country et cetera, and then state what I under scored.

Perhaps you saw this before if not you can see then there a great many who think highly of this woman, yet not a woman.

Very Respt.
Ferris Lightfoot

GFR.JR.
61-291-21

January 13,1922.

Mr. Ferris Lightfoot,
Alliance, Ohio.

Dear Sir -

I desire to thank you for your communication of the 2nd instant, enclosing a clipping from the Charleston News and Courier, concerning the return to this country of Emma Goldman.

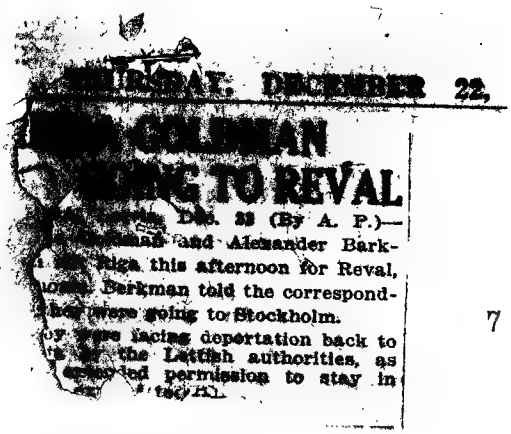
The receipt of information from such patriotic citizens as yourself is always greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2233 Daj/ghw


THURSDAY, DECEMBER 22,

COLEMAN
ING TO REVAL

Dec. 23 (By A. P.)—
and Alexander Bark-
this afternoon for Reval,
Berkman told the correspond-
were going to Stockholm.
were facing deportation back to
the Lettish authorities, as
permission to stay in

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation.

P. O. Box 3185,
7 Water St., Boston, Mass.

December 24, 1921.

61-291

GENERAL
DIG

William J. Burns, Esq.,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Complying with instructions contained in S. A. C. letter No. 71, I am enclosing herewith clipping taken from the Boston Traveller of December 22, 1921, which may be of interest to you.

Yours very truly,

Charles A. Bancroft

Charles A. Bancroft,
Special Agent in Charge.

Enc. 1.

61-291

GFR.JR.
21-291-1

January 5, 1922.

Mr. Walter C. Foster,
Box 451,
[redacted]delphia, Pa.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of November 10,1921, concerning the possible return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

For your further information on this matter, I desire to quote the following, in a communication from the State Department, dated December 19th -

> "I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite."

It would appear from the above that our old friend Alexander Berkman is going to accompany Goldman upon her return to this country.

For identification purposes, I am enclosing herewith two photostat copies of a photograph of Alexander Berkman.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Encl.

GFR.JR.
21-291-1

January 5, 1922.

Mr. M.F.Blackmon,
Box 906,
Buffalo,N.Y.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of November 10, 1921, concerning the possible return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

For your further information on this matter, I desire to quote the following, in a communication from the State Department, dated December 19th -

> "I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite."

It would appear from the above that our old friend, Alexander Berkman, is going to accompany Goldman upon her return to this country.

For identification purposes, I am enclosing herewith two photostat copies of a photograph of Alexander Berkman.

Yours very truly,

J. E. Burke

Director.

Encl.

GFR.JR.
21-251-1

January 5, 1926

Mr. Charles A. Bancroft,
Box 3135,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of November 10, 1921, concerning the possible return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

For your further information on this matter, I desire to quote the following, in a communication from the State Department, dated December 19th -

> "I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are working at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite."

It would appear from the above that our old friend Alexander Berkman is going to accompany Goldman upon her return to this country.

For identification purposes, I am enclosing herewith two photostat copies of a photograph of Alexander Berkman.

Yours very truly,

J. E. Burns

Director.

Encl.

67-20-25

GFR.Jr.
21-291-1

[redacted]ary 5, 1922

61-29-26

Mr. G. D. McKean,
Box 525,
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of November 10, 1921, concerning the possible return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

For your further information on this matter, I desire to quote the following, in a communication from the State Department, dated December 19th -

> "I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite."

It would appear from the above that our old friend Alexander Berkman is going to accompany Goldman upon her return to this country.

For identification purposes, I am enclosing herewith two photostat copies of a photograph of Alexan/ Berkman.

Yours very truly,

J. E. Burke
Director.

61-29-26

Encl.

GFR.JR.
21-291-1

January 5,1922.

Mr. Charles Jenkins,
Box 482,
Norfolk, Va.

61-871

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of November 10,1921, concerning the possible return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

For your further information on this matter, I desire to quote the following, in a communication from the State Department, dated December 19th -

> "I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite."

It would appear from the above that our old friend Alexander Berkman is going to accompany Goldman upon her return to this country.

For identification purposes, I am enclosing herewith two photostat copies of a photograph of Alexander Berkman.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns

Director.

Encl.

61-271-27

GFR.JR.
21-291-1

January 5,1922.

Mr. E.J.Brennan,
Box 241,City Hall Station,
New York.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of November 10, 1921, concerning the possible return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

For your further information on this matter, I desire to quote the following, in a communication from the State Department, dated December 19th -

> "I recently received information from Riga,under date of December 10,1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite."

It would appear from the above that our old friend Alexander Berkman is going to accompany Goldman upon her return to this country.

For identification purposes, I am enclosing herewith two photostat copies of a photograph of Alexander Berkman.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns

Director.

b1 - 27 - 2

January 5,1932.

ney,

61-291

Reference is made to my communication of
10, 1931, concerning the possible return to this
f EMMA GOLDMAN.

For your further information on this matter,
re to quote the following, in a communication from
tate Department, dated December 19th -

"I recently received information from Riga,under
ate of December 10,1931, to the effect that
lman and Berkman are waiting at that place.
y will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter
nited States although at the present time
plans are apparently indefinite."

It would appear from the above that our old
Berkman is going to accompany Goldman
this country.

Identification purposes,I am enclosing
copies of a photograph of Alexander

Yours very truly,

AINED

Director.

61-291-29

GFR.JR.
21-291-1

January 5, 1922

61-271

Mr. Bliss Morton,
Federal Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of November 10, 1921, concerning the possible return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

For your further information on this matter, I desire to quote the following, in a communication from the State Department, dated December 19th -

> "I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite."

From the above, it would appear that our old friend Alexander Berkman is going to accompany Goldman upon her return to this country.

For identification purposes, I am enclosing herewith two photostat copies of a photograph of Alexander Berkman.

Yours very truly,

J. E. Burke

Director.

Encl.

61-271-3

61-291

GFR.JR.
21-291-1

January 5,1922.

Mr. A. L. Barkey,
Box 831,
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to my communication of November 10, 1921, concerning the possible return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

For your further information on this matter, I desire to quote the following, in a communication from the State Department, dated December 19th -

> "I recently received information from Riga, under date of December 10, 1921, to the effect that Goldman and Berkman are waiting at that place. They will doubtless eventually endeavor to enter the United States although at the present time their plans are apparently indefinite."

It would appear from the above that our old friend Alexander Berkman is going to accompany Goldman on her return to this country.

For identification purposes, I am enclosing herewith two photostat copies of a photograph of Alexander Berkman.

Yours very truly,

Director.

3

Encl.

JEH*H

61-291

January 14, 1922.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hurley,-

I note in the Washington Herald, issue of January 14, 1922, an article relating to a publication called the "Arbetaren" (Worker), of Stockholm, in which appeared an article by Emma Goldman and Alexander Bergman, which is reported to have been a bitter attack upon the Bolshevist government.

I will appreciate it if you will secure for me through your representative abroad a copy of the publication containing this article, or series of articles which they are reported to have been writing.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burns

Director.

61-291-32

61-

GFR-AS
133149 -12

January 17, 1922.

Mr. G. H. Kerr,

Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

By reference from the Attorney General, your communication of the 12th instant submitting newspaper clipping concerning the return of EMMA GOLDMAN to this country, has been called to my attention.

I desire to thank you for your interest in such matters, and I want to assure you that should this individual attempt to enter this country she will receive appropriate attention by my agents.

Very truly yours,

W J Burns

Director.

61-291-33

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Detroit, Michigan	1/28/22	1/26/22	J.S.Apelman.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

EMMA GOLDMAN. Alien Anarchist.

61 291

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Detroit, Michigan.

Reference is made to Bureau Letter GFR, dated January 5, 1922.

This matter was brought to the attention of P. L. Prentis, Inspector in Charge, United States Immigration Service, Detroit, Michigan, and of Earl F. Coe, Inspector in Charge, United States Immigration Service, Port Huron, Michigan, and these officials were requested to cooperate with this office with a view of detecting this individual should she attempt to enter this country through their ports.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
JAN 1922
DIVISION

61-291-34

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Dej/ghw

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Mr. Hoover-2	

7—1169

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation.

196/103. 7 Water Street, Boston, Mass. JAN 22 1922

WJW/D. January 19, 1922.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

READ BY W. J. B.

Dear Sir: Attention Mr. Hoover - 2.

Acknowledgment is hereby made of the receipt of Bureau letter of the 5th instant, No. 21-291-1, initialed GFR-JR, in reference to the possible attempt of ALEXANDER BERKMAN and EMMA GOLDMAN to re-enter the United States.

The two photographs of BERKMAN sent under cover of the above Bureau letter were received. In the future it is requested that, if practicable, the Bureau furnish four copies of each photograph; that is, one to be sent to the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at Montreal, Canada, for Canadian border ports; one for the U. S. Immigrant Inspector in Charge at Portland, Maine; one for Agent Nolan, who covers incoming vessels at Boston, and one for the files of the office.

1/18/22 2 sent to Boston GJR

Very truly yours,

Charles A. Bancroft

Charles A. Bancroft,
Special Agent in Charge.

JAN 20 1922

61-291-35

RECORDED

[redacted]
[redacted]
61-291-35
JAN 20 1922

January 18,1922.

Mr. C. A. Bancroft,
Box 3166,
Boston,Mass.

Dear Sir -

Reference is made to your communication of the 10th instant, in regard to the possible attempt of ALEXANDER BERKMAN and EMMA GOLDMAN to re-enter the United States.

I note your suggestion that, in the future, four copies of photographs be forwarded to your office, instead of two copies.

In accordance with your suggestion, I am enclosing herewith two additional photostat photographs of ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

Yours very truly,

W. E. Byrne
Director.

Encl.

ALLIANCE, OHIO
JAN 2
10 30 AM
1922

1

18720

W. J. Burns -
Director
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington
D.C.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Detroit, Michigan.	1/28/22	1/26/22	J.S.Apelman

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

ALEXANDER BERKMAN — Alien Anarchist.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

61-71

At Detroit, Michigan.

Reference is made to Bureau Letter GFR, dated January 5, 1922.

This matter was brought to the attention of P.L.Prentis, Inspector in Charge, United States Immigration Service, Detroit, Michigan, and of Earl F. Coe, Inspector in Charge, United States Immigration Service, Port Huron, Michigan, and these officials were requested to cooperate with this office with a view of detecting this individual should he attempt to enter this country through their ports.

RECORDED

61-29136

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Mr.Hoover-2	

7—1169

File Emma Goldman

18732

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

61-291

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
U-2 311.61/47/9

February 9, 1922.

4782

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to previous correspondence regarding the three well known anarchists, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Shapiro, I enclose herewith copy of a confidential despatch No. 1549, dated December 31, which has been received from the American Commissioner at Riga. Under date of January 3 the Commissioner reported by despatch that Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro left for Reval and Stockholm on the afternoon of January 2. The Consul at Riga has been instructed to notify our Legation at Stockholm by telegraph the date of their departure from Reval.

Very truly yours,

W. Hurley.

MAR 7 • 1922

Enclosure:
From Riga, No.1549,
December 31, 1921.

61-291-37

Read by
William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

FEB 13 1922

Wm. J. Burns.

4783

December 31, 1921.

No. 1549

The Honorable,

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

Adverting to my telegram No. 542, December 22, 3 p.m. and to my despatch, No. 1546, December 29, 1921, with reference to the three wellknown anarchists, Emma Goldman, Berkman, and Shapiro, I have the honor to submit the following report.

The parties mentioned arrived in Riga from Moscow December 5th and proceeded directly to the residence occupied by the bolshevik consulate where they remained during practically all of their stay in Riga.

On December 22, they departed by the afternoon train for Reval only to be taken off the train a few stations down the line by agents of the Latvian secret service and brought back to Riga where they remained in jail until yesterday when they were released from confinement. They are of course being carefully watched and I anticipate no difficulty in keeping myself in [illegible] regarding their movements.

The object of the action of the Latvian secret service in removing them from the train was to afford their agents an opportunity to search the baggage, personal effects, etc., and to examine all of their papers and documents, which of course could not be done while they were housed in the bolshevik consulate.

4784

All of the papers and documents found in the possession of these three parties came into my hands for a few hours. Every effort was made during this brief period of time to make copies of those which it was thought would be of interest to the Department. These papers and documents clearly establish the fact that Goldman, Berkman, and Shapiro were proceeding to Berlin to attend an international congress of anarchists which was to convene at Berlin on December 25.

I enclose herewith the following:-

1. Copy of credential issued to Alexander Berkman by the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee.

2. Copy of credential issued to Emma Goldman by the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee.

3. Provisional program of International Anarchist Congress, Berlin.

4. Copy of letter, December 6, 1921, from Managing Committee, Federation of Communistic Anarchists of Germany.

5. Extracts from letters found in possession of Goldman, Berkman and Shapiro.

6. List of names and addresses appearing in note book of Berkman's.

7. List of names and addresses contained in a second note book of Berkman's.

8. Extracts from Berkman's diary.

It is believed that these documents will prove of

interest and value to the Department. As regards their authenticity there is no question.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

4785

Commissioner.

Enclosures:-

As listed.

Moscow, November 7, 1921.

~~CO~~

No. 733

CREDENTIAL

4786

The bearer of this credential Comrade Alexander BERKMAN is hereby authorized by the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee to represent it at the International Anarchist Congress, which is to be held in Berlin in December 1921.

Secretary: S. BOROWOY.

Moscow, November 7, 1921.

No. 732 4787

CREDENTIAL

The bearer of this credential Comrade Emma GOLDMAN is hereby authorized by the Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee to represent it at the International Anarchist Congress, which is to be held in Berlin in December 1921.

Secretary: S. BOROWOY.

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS

Berlin, December 1921

4788

Provisional Order of the Day.

1. Constitution of the Congress.
2. Reports of the various delegations on the anarchist movement in their respective countries.
3. Anarchism and organization.
4. Anarchism and the peasant question.
5. The so-called dictatorship of the proletariat - authoritative and individualistic conception of revolution (anarchist conception).
6. Activity of the anarchists in the trade-unions movement.
7. Revival of the international anarchist bureau.
8. Deliberation on motions submitted.

Hermann Leitmann,

Berlin No. 20,

Stettiner Strasse, 33, p. 11.

Berlin, December 6, 1921.

4789

Dear Comrades:

On October 12 we addressed to the Commissar of the Russian Government in Moscow, as well as to their local representative here, the application to grant you, as well as comrades A. B. and A. Sch., permits to leave Russia. To this application we have to the present day received no reply. Only the local representation returned our letter, with the laconic remark: "Blackmailing letters are not accepted". Our endeavors, and those of Comrade R. Rocker, to obtain the German visas from the German Government, have also up to this day remained futile.

The Congress will definitely take place during the period between December 25 and 31. We have hopes that the Congress will be well attended.

Comrade Malatesta is one of the Italian comrades. He has already given his approval. The Russian Federation of Communistic Anarchists of the U. S. A. and Canada will also be represented. England will be represented by the delegate Mr. Walkind, and Switzerland by Bertoni.

We hope that you will be successful in your attempts, in the last minute, to use the legal way, since the illegal way remains open any time. As regards ourselves, we shall continue our endeavors to obtain the required visas, but you must reckon with the possibility of failure in this respect.

With fraternal greetings of solidarity —

The Managing Committee of the Federation of Communistic Anarchists of Germany.

(Signed) By order: Franzch.

Comrade Martenbach arrives today at Berlin.

Letter to Emma Goldman ... 4790

Moscow, December 10, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of a letter from E. Goldman, transmitted to her by Mr. C. Seems very anxious about the German visaes . . . "I took over to Ang. the letter for her, but did not see her . . . Shadourskaya happened to be there, she came out to talk with me, told me that Ang.is leaving for Sw. these days, so you will be able to correspond through the party paper (Politiken, I think)" . . .

Vera.

Letter to Vera from Emma Goldman.

Riga, Dec. 20, 1921.

. . . You might send your next letter, from Sonya, to poste restante Stockholm, using my first initial only and name (i.e. family name). But if you should hear that I am in B - n, then send your letters to R.R., but in double envelope; my name being on the inside envelope, while on the outside one you can have my initials only in the left hand lower corner. . .

- - - - - - -

36 Grove St. Nov. 16, 1921.

To E. Goldman from Hella.

. . .I hope by this time you have received the $300 I sent with Dr. R. also the long letter he carried. He also carried a large sum to the Doc's brother. We are a little confused by the many addresses you sent us. I lately wrote to Mr. Collas care of the British Mission in Riga, as per former letter. All other letters were sent to A. Shapiro, Moscow. I also sent copies . . . Things are as usual in Rochester.

4791

These have faith in all of us over here . . . The Children sail November 23rd. They will probably reach you before this . . . I am going to Ellis Island tomorrow. I am giving Abrams a verbal message for you, a plan. The boys were determined to go, Mollie is going, of course under protest. I haven't heard from H.A. in weeks and weeks. I understand he is writing a book and not articles. I cannot get word to Nicolai, and it seemed foolish to send money to nothing but poste restante. Millie and Peepsie are both now in Jan's school. Millie is in the nursery department and Peepsie is in the office of the Bureau of Educational Experiment. They hear from Max every week . . . You can reach Aline at any time through the Guaranty Trust Company # 1 rue des Italiens, Paris, her headquarters . . . I gave her Max address. Dr. Mac is going to Germany for the Congress. We were hoping H.V. would go, but it is not settled.

- - - - - - - - -

Shapiro.

London County & Westminster Bank Limited
Upper Clapton Branch
98 & 100 Upper Clapton Road
London, N.E. 19th October 1917.

Mrs. Shapiro.

- - - - -

Letter to Shapiro.

Berlin, December 8, 1921.

Acknowledges receipt of letter of 4th inst. Regrets to be unable to do anything in the matter of visaes as they "have no influence in the quarters where visaes are issued". In

[illegible] in England we used to go to Pissy in Brighton or to some one else of influence. The Congress is not an open one. Not as in Amsterdam. All other friends will also have to come without permission.

- - - - - - -

Verlags-& Sortiments- Buchhandlung
Fritz Kater, Berlin, O. 34,
Kopernikusstr. 25/II.

Berlin, Dec. 12, 1921.

Informs him that up till now could not get the required visaes, but hopes to be able to do so as "you do not want to stop here, but go to Mexico and you are coming here only for a short time" . . . He still hopes to get the German visae through the intermediary of an old Social Democrat whose nephew is the German representative in Riga. He already wrote to him two letters asking him to help you. The name of the Consul in Riga is Dr. Erich Wallroth. Go to him and he will receive you cordially. On Saturday he was here again and told us that he spoke to the past Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary of Germany and the latter promised him that he will do everything. If you want some help in Riga, you can go to Professor Ballod of the Riga University. Tell him that his Berlin friend of the "Bund Neues Vaterland" Herr Otto Lehmann- Russbuldt has sent you and he, too, will help you . . . In case of not succeeding to get the German visae, writer suggests to go to Sweden, as there are many good friends who know personally the Prime Minister Branting. "If after all our endeavors, we should not succeed, you can go to the Swedish representative in Riga. Tell him that you are going to your friends Axel Holstrom, Buchverlag, Hagagatan 16,

Stockholm, and to Albert Jensen, Helenaborgsgatan 25, B. Stockholm Sö.

Here are some addresses:

Ernst Klausner, Brakerstr. 29, Bremen.

August Heidel, Seilerstr. 22/I Hamburg.

I suppose you know Rieger. You could write to him. He knows all about you. His address: Stettin, Unterwieck 12 a. Jartschuk still in Camp. Doing all to get his passport prolonged . . . Congress will take place. No delegates arrived. Does not take place in the open. Do not put much hope in it.

- - - - - - - - -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4794

M. S. A. 24 W 10th - N. Y.

L. M. A. U. O. 63 W 36 City
19 - 83

Prof. Elchanhausen 105-93, Lapernay Pereulok, No. 16, corner of Znamenskaya, Kv. 53 (Moscow)

Edwin Buch... 49 W 39 St. NY City

Angelika Balabanova - Krassovsky 8, Tel. 501-86 (Moscow)

M. B. 736 N. 182nd St.

Your child 36 Grove St. (As if you would forget it!)

Gene 1556 Kilkood Honolulu

A.S.B. (old friend of Bab). 3 Monadnach St. Dorchester. Mass. Boston

E. B. (the Amer ..ding) 21 Van Dam St. N.

Kitty. 1310 Yeon Bldg or 419 C of C Bldg. Portland Port.

A. B. (Bugarton) 715 Merritt Bldg. Los Angeles

Dirkum, Clinton [illegible] Westfall Ave Rochester

Smitty 8013 Platt Av. Cleveland, O.

S. S. Janutherville Ms.

M. B. c/o Mrs. Lawrence, Oneonta NY

Lee - Newspaperman

Rose S 95 - 5th Av.

Dolly - 88 Washington Place

Coe - 1117 Harris Bldg - Chicago

Padin - 629 Mercantile Bldg. Roch...

Sister - 475 Clinton Av. N - Rochester

Ben C - 613 Jackson St. Ipoka - Kans.

Bessie D. - (Ho's friend) - 2109 Harrison Av. - NY.J.

St. L. - Hotel Princess, Bermuda, or Sea Gate L. I.

Janis K. - 244 Thompson St.

Carl - Hjortkvarn, Sweden - c/o. Brand, Glundgatan, Stockholm

Ben - 25 W Dalton Place Lola - Nightg Bookshop 17 W 8th St.

Rose J. (or F.) 274 Dorcor St. Kansas City.

M.F. Jake - 275 St. Washington Av. NY

Lionera - 8.7 [illegible] 98 Grove

[illegible] - 7. [illegible] St.

M. 1056 Hal Av. Bronx

Sara C. (new business add) 38 E 59th NY

J.H. 1722 Carr St. St. Louis

J.Hr. 40 - 7th Av - City

4795

Hepman - 74 Ellicott St. Roch. Buffalo

H.H. - Harvard Club - W 44

Gleditsch - c/o. University of Christmas - Kendey - (her address can be had here, or letter reached her c/o. Univ.)

Workers Inst. - 1006 Ashland Blvd, Chicago, Ills

Mlle Corneveaux - 134th W. 70th St. NY - City

Sina Cosensky - 442 South Goodman R. NY

Albert Jensen, Helenebergs gattan 25 B.Ho Stockholm

A.J. 1336 Helmot Av Anne Arbor or 661 Seneca Av. Detroit Detroit

Hank -

Edna - 27 E 62nd St.

Krapotkin - Lebedev 22-24 - Leontofsky Pereulok 26, quarteers 38 (Moscow)

Miss Koroboreinka - Hotel Cosmopolite - Copenhagen Denmark

Bessie Kimmelman c/o Mr. Freedman 989 - 9th Ave - NY City

Grace M. - 1421 Clayton St. Denver Denver

E.A.K. - 5 Patchin Pl. City

Kapa ... 8 - 71 139 - 57

Rudolf Rocker - Kirchhof Strasse 3, Neu-Coeln, Berlin

Rose Mayevskaya, Stoleshnik Pereulok 6, Qu. 5 (Moscow)

R.R. & Madeline. Jarls friend of Essex Co. 70 - 5th Av.

Jac. M. - 507 Arcade Bldg. - Pittsburg Pitts

L.N. - 121 N. Pearl Albany Albany

Dorothy M. - 80 Grove St. - NY

Hank

Bob c/o M.R.F.

J.M. - 540 Manhattan Av.

Alvina Ottesen - 314 W. (or E.) 55th St. NY City

Carl Lowlenstein Hjorthavn. Copen

Kurt Lagah, Strasse Nr 111, Berlin O. 112

4786

A.F. - 606 W 115

Mary E.VOB 24 Charles St. or Provincetown

O. St. F.F. 1011 - Holland Bldg. St. Louis

Kate, Box 47, Jeff. City Mo. Kle-mis

Van 120 Broadway, Room 1216

Vovshin, Spasso-Clinistshesky Pereulok 4, Qu. 12, near Karosseika (Moscow)

On Board U. S. T. Buford. Dec. 21. 1919.

4797

Anderson, Marg. E. W 16 St.

An. Club - Moscow - Tiversk 19.

Andreeva - Maria Feodorovna - Dmitr. Per. 12 - Qu.25 - (Moscow)

B. Aline - 715 Merritt Bldg. - Corod Billy

Blackwell, Alice Stone, 3 Monadnock St., Dorchester Mass

B. Max - 537 E. 182 St.

B.B. - 21 Van Dam St. - NY

B. Kitty - 1310 Yeon Bldg.

Mr. A. Machmetev, Central Postoffice, Post Restante, Moscow

Blango, John J. - 5512 - 5th Ave Brklyn (Decent Ill.man)

Ed. Behre 45 W. 39 St.

B.-Small Kharitonensky Per. 10 - 5047, 6473 (Moscow)

Brand - Red. Ljoerklund, Oelandsgattan 48, Stockholm, So

Axel Karlsson, Lindquist

Augustin Souchy, bei Mater, Berlin O., Warschauer Str. 62

Bremen - Ernst Klausner - Brakerstr. 29

M.A.C.-Br. - 1457 East Parkway

Stolov - Tversk. 19 - 2052-17 (Moscow)

Store - Tv. 70 - 2-67-86 (Moscow)

Cummins, Saxe-Mercantile Bldg., Main St. Roc

Cornevaux, M-lle C. - 134 W. 70th St. N. Y.

Cleveland - Riva Hassin - 2259 E. 73 St.

Diamond, Ida - 1056 Roe Ave, Bronx

House of Soviets: 1) National 206-82, 2) Metropole, 3) 4-32-49 (Sadovaya)

Drozdov (V-Tcheka, Moscow) - Bol. Lubianka, 14 - room 47. Tel 2-08-78
Uskkulan

Copenhagen - Danus - Croix Rouge Danoise, Amalienvej 24

Epstein, Joseph Victerivich, Grabs, Chief Administration of Plenbach
(Prisoners and Detitives)

Fishman, Minnie, 2[illegible] Ft. Wash. Ave. NY

Fleshin, Moscow Street 32, Anarchist Club, Kharkov

Fleshin, Riva 2259 E. 73 St. Clevel

Goldenberg, Dr. - Tel. 420-26

Gorki, Maxim - Group A - 212-68 - 13, Kronwerk Per., Qu. 5 (Moscow)

Hamburg, August Heidel, Leilerstr. 22, I.

Hochs, Hyman - 74 Ellicott St. Roch.

4798

Inform. Tel. Moscow - 206 - 82

Iljitch, Trogol. Iv. Belgrad, Belgrad St. 49

Ispart - Olminsky or Aminsky. Tel. 6-74, Secretary of Lashava

Usmh - Max Sherovan

Karakhan - 871 - Sofiiskaya Naberezhnaya 14, Moscow

Kolontai, M-me - 1st House of Soviets, 206-82 - 229 (room) after 7 P. M.

Khariton - Maly 10 - 50-47, 54-73

Karakhan - Sofiiskaya Naberezhnaya 14 - 871

Kropotkin - Phone Nagorodnaya Nitrov, Sergeev Pozad, Soviet Street
Alsufiev House

Kaplun - Moskaya 13/3, Qu. 25, Entrance from the Sirpitchny Per.

Miss Korotovinska, Hotel Cosmopolite, Copenhagen, Denmark

Mrs. J. Kagan, Route 2, Box 53 E, Petaluma, Cal.

Lovarsk - Dr. Kombo (wife Kov), Suvorov Pl., Petr.

Shak, Isak Abramovich, met in M., Nagorodny 21, Qu. 44, Tel 411-86 Petr.

Per Arkad. Osipov. Kov. - Julii Mark Blumenthal, beer-brewer, K.

Rosenbaum, Presid. Jewish Society

Dr. Rabinovich, friend of Dr. Horatio
Osipovich (in K. the latter)
also his friend Soloveich.

Roisey Horatsevich K - in Berlin, Student, c/o Dr. Glueckberg
Charlottenburg, Wallstr. 61/III

Kovno - E. J. Eliapern, Mitskevich Str. 14 (from K.M.)

" Soltkulviessor 15 K. Leiles

(F. J. Alavansky, Ilia and wife Regina E. Leiles)

Lunacharsky (Pres. Theatr) (Nerod. 16-07) or Kroklin 4-01-00) Dab. 29
Kontrolbatro - 3-45-59 - Nagilinnaya

Liggio-Jemmie-Cassella Postale 55, Torino, Ita

Lomon, Langton House. 31 Palace G.

Mrs. N. Littauer (friend

Miller, J. K.

Kaidanovskaya 19. second fl. Club (City N-k)

Cmar Levin - [illegible] St. -

Peter Malkin - Serpukhovskaya 8, Cm. 4

4799

Tel: Lev. his address red'd from Marshak

Newlander, Carl, Hjortkvarn, c/o. Brand

Naft, Gert - 164 Waverly Pl.

Norway - Alfred Madsel c/o. Ny - Eid Expedition - Trondjem
to be forwarded to A. Cram c/o Hotel North Pole, Varno, Norway

Netlam, Max, Wien IX, Lazarettgasse 32 III/22

Shapiro - Latv. Ruble - S. 056904 Riga

Radek, Kremlin 4-01-00 (Upper Commutator)

Rayevskaya - Political Dept. 12, Sadovaya 1.Kiev

Riga, Kivul, Nicolai 3, Cm. 13

Rudolf Berlin, Neukoeln, Kirchhofstr. 3

Riga, - A. Paterson, Great Loch ecka 14, 25

Reval, Esthonia - Julius Isicor Freymann, 22 Uhirskaya (from Vyurin)

Kater, Berlin O.34, Kopernikus str. 23.11

Rieger, Unterzisch 12a, Stettin

Stockholm, Axel Holmstroem, Buchverlag, Langgatan 16, St - V-a

Albert Jensen, Helenoborgsgatan 25 B, Stockh. So

Naum Jurievich Mergel (friend of Alesta; knows Latsky) can help send letters

Ida Lvovna Milner - Podgorodnaya 12, Chief of Children house, friend of
Aleska M.

Sister of Rosa Abram Wydrin
Fran Fraenkel, Aleistrasse 29 I, Berlin W. 62

City of Birth - bro. of Lice Boris - Alex top.

Frau Elise Wydrin, Wien XIX, Sieveringerstrasse 12

[illegible]'S DIARY

[illegible] 11. [illegible] today at 11:30 A.M. arrived from Petrograd. Tried hard to get some bread on my ..... but impossible. Only given to children and Red Army.

4800

September 12th. Yesterday wrote E. she needn't rush but may come back in a few days.

September 15th. Nelson is again here from the Caucasus. Bob left for visit. He will see E. Had several letters from her. E. sent over a letter from F. received per Bessie to Vasily. Letter dated April. Can't understand why our mail fails.

September 18th - Sunday. This is the 18th. E. in Petrograd yet. Feels lonesome. I am sick and tired of this life of inactivity. Quite frequently the literary instinct bursts forth, yet I must suppress it and now I almost hate to think of writing. From long suppression the thing is becoming hateful to me. The housekeeping here is driving me crazy.

September 20th. Yesterday it was said that Black Leon is gone. Details not known yet. It had been said that promise of safety had been given him. Hope there will be no war between Russia and Poland. Russia is certainly not in condition to wage war now. Yesterday received wonderful box from E. and the others and one of clothes expected so long ago. Was the most happy surprise. We had lost faith.

October 1st. It was a sad day yesterday in the ..... There appeared a long article regarding alleged underground group and the story of the ten shot. So it is really true! In the same issue last column of first page, a letter signed N. Pavlov stated that he would for the present stop all his work. Together with other articles it made a terrible impression. What poor weaklings mortals be!

October 4th. Everyone feels dejected. Atmosphere of hopelessness and despair. A young man came today from the south. He knew nothing of L.

October 5th. Our people that are to leave have so far nothing positive. L. is to return from Reval. Did not get there in time for Congress.

October 10th. The miracle happened. To our joy we learned yesterday that Vl. is again well. Am preparing to leave for Petrograd.

October 11th. Well I am still here. At 4:00 P. M. my man phoned all would be ready. i.e. ticket. Asked me to be ready. Well I was but that was the last I have heard from him.

Petrograd - October 14th. Arrived in Petrograd this noon. People here seem to be dressed comparatively well. 75 percent better than in 1920.

October 16th - Sunday. Searched for Barb. Could not find him last evening. Saw last evening E., Lisa and Weiss, etc. Latter is in charge of all the Stolovayas for the A. R. A.

October 20th - Moscow. Returned to Moscow yesterday with Barb. Alesha went with me. E. met us. Very hospitable, was glad to see us.

October 26th. Today received from ..... letter of German comrades. So it is decisive, on December 25th. We'll see how it will come out. I am skeptical. E. has more faith in it.

October 28th. After a lot of fuss got ticket to Petrograd. Glandia died last evening in hospital.

October 29th. Left Moscow with Alesha.

October 30th - Sunday. Petrograd. Arrived with Alesha about noon. Yesterday before we left there appeared in the papers the official announcement that the Government would pay all foreign debts to 1914 on condition of its being recognized by the Entente. Quite a furore. Discussed everywhere. It made me sad to leave the house even if it be for only a week or two. Who knows what will happen in the meantime? Things are so uncertain here. Little Vera was sad to let me go. I know the dear girl got attached to me of late. I think it is admiration as if for her older brother, with a mixture of emotion for the man who had suffered much for his cause.

(Date ?) Every day expected in Petrograd our friends who were to come in order to go away. Arrived several days later the old man and some youngster. Suddenly learned that Gorsain pinched and looking for others there.

November 4th - Friday. Was to leave with Markovna. Fortunately got two tickets without losing much time. Barx decided Sunday not to go. Frightened by the most ..... entrance to train. Saturday I visited friends on Vasil. Were glad to see me, even sent for Anna. Had a farewell dinner,

I contributing. Stayed the night there but none of went to bed. Interesting talk and intimate conference. Told them about Russel and Russell and how he sacrificed himself for me. Stayed the night there but none of us went to bed. Strange world we live in. How little we know of the tragedies next door and the heartbreaks of the people about us, even nearest us. We were all loathe to leave.

Sunday evening I came home, got ready and then Marx appeared. Well, with help of porter I made the train. Left for Vitebsk. Five times as many people in the car as it could hold. Arrived Vitebsk next day. I was almost crushed getting in the car. This trip the most terrible experience of my life. I thought I would strangle in the car. No windows, fastened to wooden blinds with pieces of glass in center. No air. Absolute darkness my candles having gone out. Stinks, quarrels, foul language. Only standing room. So close together I feared all the time my pockets were being picked. Thefts of the most stupendous kind, bottoms almost cut through suitcases, etc. Several arrested on this trip for such work. I stood up all night. Repeatedly I despaired of living through it. I decided then and there never to consent to any friend of mine, especially any woman, making this trip. The whole thing then seemed absolutely hopeless. But I went on through it though bereft of all hope. I felt I would never reach my destination alive, or if I did, it would be useless as no woman could do it and I felt return was almost impossible, so I went on in despair. In Orsha again change of cars but though fierce experience yet not so bad as Vitebsk. It was the train from Moscow. Found no seat and only in the middle of the night sat down a while. In the morning I missed one of my bags. Felt loss of two fine gray blankets and my beautiful new bath robe. Too bad.

Next day (November 9th) I stationed myself at exit and examined everyone's baggage. Mine not there. Took a room here as can't sleep on street. Now busy looking for my sister whom I have not seen in 25 years. Don't know her married name. Much provisions here, most all of which are bought by speculators and sent to Moscow and Petrograd, making millions in the business.

November 11th - Friday. Was in despair. Every recommendation I had did not help to find my sister. People lukewarm, asked to come again and [illegible] [illegible] not properly in [illegible]. For three days searched for familiar face, all in vain. Address of V. wrong. Late in the afternoon walking on street I saw the long legged Eygonk. That surprise. He was happy as a kid. Took me to woman. All surprised and glad.

November 13th - Sunday. Young Maxim left for ..... Gave him letter for E. Told I remain here to find my sister may be even three weeks. Not a theater worth while No intellectual life. Rotten.

November 14th - Monday. Decided too expensive to remain at hotel. Room cold. Coughed hard all night. Dirty, loud people. Speculators who call themselves intellectuals. Search for sister will go on here.

November 16th - Wednesday. Monday night froze in Dan's room. No pillows, no blankets. Didn't sleep a wink. Jacob Joseph sick. Gave him some help. Decided to leave tomorrow. Can't find sister just now anyhow. Maybe she will pop up in .....

November 17th. Decided to leave for Moscow. What's the use hanging around here? Station crowded, smoky, filthy. Awful sight of half-clad poorly dressed and beggars. Travelled in general car but had place to stretch out though hard one. Buffet on train, first time. Almost everything. High prices.

November 18th. Arrived Moscow, two hours late. Almost frozen on way. What surprise for E. that I came on 18th! I sent E. off first so as not to frighten her by my sudden appearance. Then I stepped in. She already at the door. Passports received. The last thing I would have thought of. I was expected though not so soon. All glad to see me. Pavel, Mona and Vera. E. was very nice.

November 20nd - Tuesday. Yesterday sent radio in cipher. Hope it will go to Amber asking them to get German Government to instruct local representative to visa our passports. Hope we can make it. Another news of these passports did not gladden me as one might think and I don't know if I am more glad than sad at leaving this poor suffering country and all these lovable people and all the friends we have made in almost two years.

November 20th - Saturday. On the 22nd had a talk with Lady [illegible]. It really put me out. [illegible] seemed to look for an opportunity for a talk with me and was very anxious as to possible results. [illegible] thought to put it as mildly as mildly as possible but yet clearly indicated her responsibility. Not for the world would she speak with E. about it and insisted I promise not to repeat. Well I see no use repeating it to E. but the whole thing is very indelicate. I am surprised and grieved at it all. I consider the whole thing unnecessary. Well, have been to Latvian and German Missions. In the latter case no instructions received. Former said they will sign it on Monday. We ought to be gone soon. No use delaying. On 22nd had a long talk with V. Seems sorry I am leaving. Rather attached to me. Interesting evolution.

December 5th - Riga. Well we're here, the three of us. In our car were Collas, Fink, and other A. R. A. men. F... type of breezy Americans. Car not very clean. We were seen off by Vas, Pavel and Verotshka. Latter seemed the most upset. Arrived at border. Things examined by Russian officials superficially. Then on Latvian border, paid for "plumbing". Ride uninteresting, slow, impossible connection. At last arrived Riga 11:00 P. M. Saturday 14 or more hours late. Decided to go straight to 25 ..... Took sleigh. Difference evident at once. Big and clean city though economy in lighting noticeable. Bourgeois feeling atmosphere. Well fed horses. Pleasant jingling bells. People well dressed, well fed middle class. Got room for M. S. and I with ..... Large clean room. Very noticeable cleanliness, order. More German like. Talked matters over. It appears it is more advisable to wait here than at Kovno. Visited C. and family.

December 11th. Time is flying. Already over a week here. Things don't look encouraging just now. One hour ago I returned from seeing a man and returned with last [illegible] last hope busted. At first it looked as if Mr. Lighthead could attend to matters successfully. Today he became down-hearted. The plan failed. General sadness. Still, I had my man in reserve. No cure, pure conditions; all was happy again. Seems a sure thing. Later on a [illegible] the other fellow again. The latter made

complicions and impossible demands and all fell through. It's fierce. The fact may there is not - very faint. B. gave up her room yesterday so I gave her Lightbeard's room. We slept in our clothes in vacant room upstairs. B. received letter from St. with copy of F's report to SK. regarding L. G. affair. F. seems to have worked hard investigating. Is convinced foul plot to blacken L. I wrote Z. yesterday and today. Asked if she can place sketches, etc. Information from Berlin that many promised to attend, maybe Mac and H. Z. among others.

December 14th. Wire from Jensen today. Entrance to Sweden permitted. Great rejoicing here. Hold family confab. Necessary to go to Swedish Consulate, get visas, and on strength of it get German transit visas. Was good idea of August.

December 15th. Making the runs of consulates. Hell, it's some nuisance. Mademe'selle Berg of the German Mission is a veritable "enfant terrible" on the visas needy. Seems an effective worker. Acts as Chief Clerk and does most of the work herself. Sits at the center table in ante-chamber to Consul's office and receives all applicants. Has a business like manner. Knows her work and has got good memory for faces evidently. Noticeable difference of her treatment to poorly dressed people. Through B. was informed from B. that K. sent two letters to Ambassador. Everything was turned over to the Secretary and through him to Berg. She insisted we must fill out papers and give two photographs each. On the 15th our papers were sent to B. Can be no reply before Monday or Tuesday. Swedish Mission made no difficulty after they received word from Stockholm. Visited also shipping office and Lithuanian and Esthonian Missions. The latter informed us visas can be had from them quickly once the main visas are secured. From them we need only transit visas. Planning to go either via Reval to Stockholm or via Kowno and Koenigsberg. In the former case we need Esthonian, in the latter Lithuanian visas. In either case we need the German. Swedish refused today to issue visas unless we stated definitely which route we take. We could not do that yet, so we must wait till we receive word from Berlin. We got no wire from friends in Berlin. I fear they can't arrange the thing successfully. At any rate

we are stuck here till we hear either from them definitely or from official Berlin. I sleep with S. E. in the floral department. Lebarev and wife and child also, very [illegible]. [illegible] in their work of economic aid to R. Courier here in the [illegible] is an old man, cousin of the famous Dyrbehs. He says of himself, "I used to be Colonel of ..... something ..... Staff. Now I'm courier for the Bolshevike.

Women here not beautiful. Stocky, unusually well developed legs, big hips. But at least they don't paint, as in Moscow. Only prostitutes seem to paint here.

December 18th. My resurrection day passed quietly. We were not in a mood to celebrate it. No news regarding the German visas.

December 20th. Yesterday received mail from Moscow. Letter from Churva, jointly for me and S. Terrible letter. She was heartbroken when she learned that we had left. The letter she wrote was in a suicidal mood. No one to talk to, no one to live for. Bad news in the mail yesterday. First, letter to Maximof, sent off with no Russian money. Tomorrow we must either prolong our visas here or get Swedish visas and start on our further way.

December 21st. Early this morning the three of us agreed to divide the work of the day among us. S. went out to see if anything was received at the German Consulate. I was to visit a place about getting information about getting visas prolonged but we met S. coming out of the German Embassy. "Abgelehnt" he informed us. We did not worry about the wire yesterday from the Berlin foreign office. We had paid for it but thought we might have to wait for it until Saturday and that meant continuing our Latvian visas. Well there is no use waiting here, though our Berlin people are still trying. But now it will be useless. We decided then to take tomorrow the 4:00 P. M. train for Reval. We have missed the Wednesday boat which goes only once a week. We stay then till next Wednesday in Reval and then go to Stockholm. Just in afterwards we'll see.

Visited the Swedish Consulate to get visas. Going to leave them

have already been received from [illegible] several days. But for some un-

[illegible] the [illegible],

[illegible] we should not [illegible] first. The [illegible] is not the contrary. [illegible] out to Esthonian Consulate and there they seemed to think it strange that Swedish Consulate should have sent us to them first. But we had asked the Swedish Consulate to phone to Esthonian Consulate that Swedish visses are secured by us. Evidently they did and within fifteen minutes we secured the Esthonian visas. Quickest work some here yet. The Latvian visas expires tomorrow just at the time we are supposed to reach the Esthonian border. What awaits us there I wonder.

This is just the day two years ago that we were taken aboard the "Buford". It was midnight, December 20-21, 1919, when we were called out, going aboard about 7:05 A. M. December 21st. Just two years! What joy and woe crowded these last two years, but mostly grief, disappointment and disillusion. Really terrible when I stop to think of it. The enthusiasm of those days at the thought of nearing the promised land! Where is it all gone? Sent a lot of postals today, last greetings from Riga to Petrograd, Moscow, N. Y. Where shall we be this Christmas and New Year's? It seems to me we are just drifting, going where we could not stay. I regret we did not get an opportunity to go to Kovno - my connection and letters of recommendation might have helped. It is no use now.

Yb. (or Ub.) will come to put .... on our suitcases early in the morning. Incidentally he was discharged from his work today by order of Genetzky for having been seen drunk presumably, actually, for "having broken order"; i.e. visited a public drinking place, though as a matter of fact he got drunk while visiting with us at Mrs. C. But Yb. (or Ub.) says he will ignore the order. "The transport business here can't exist without me", he says.

[illegible] Riga. [illegible] Probably my last sojourn in Riga. [illegible] about 8:30 we [illegible] as our motive lists. [illegible] Mrs. [illegible] things for [illegible] today from Riga. Sorry I can't take [illegible] to Esthonia."

Shaw's latest. Clever in spots. Also taking along pamphlets sent us [illegible] Germany and the J. P. he received from Russia long ago. His preface might have been omitted, may get certain people in trouble there.

4808

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 18, 1922.

61 291

2/21/22
JEH
JSR

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to my letter of January 28, 1922, relative to Emma Goldman and Berkman, I enclose herewith a translation of an article by these two individuals which appeared in the "Arbetaren" under date of January 10, 1922.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

Encl
Ex. 2/14/22
2-6-22 M

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

FEB 28 1922

61-291-37

JUN 29 1972

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

Translation from "Arbeiteren" newspaper, dated Jan. 10, 1921.

PERSECUTION OF REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS IN RUSSIA.

A revolting document concerning the Bolshevik regime of tyranny and despotism.

It has been reported telegraphically that 35 Social Democrats have resorted to hunger strike in the Bolshevik prison of Butyrki. It is not only Social Democrats who are driven to protest in this manner against the cruel methods of the Bolsheviks, but also Anarchists, Syndicalists, and even members of the "workers opposition". The following proclamation explains the situation clearly. It is time that an opinion be expressed against these terrible cruelties.

Dear Brothers!

The persecutions of the revolutionary elements in Russia have not been alleviated in connection with the Bolshevik changes of the political and economical policies. On the contrary it has been more intensified, more precise. The prisons in Russia, the Ukraine, and Siberia are filled with men and women - yes, in some instances with children - who dare to harbor opinions in opposition to the Communist party in power. We say intentionally "harbor opinions", because in Russia of today it is not at all necessary to express in words one's opinions in order to [illegible] "[illegible]", [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible]

extreme power of the country, and the will of which knows neither law nor responsibility.

But of all the revolutionary elements in Russia it is the Anarchists who suffer under the most merciless and systematic persecutions. Their strangulation by the Bolsheviks began as early as 1918, when the communist government in April without warning and provocation attacked the Anarchist Club in Moscow and by means of machine guns and cannons annihilated the whole organization. This was the beginning of the chase after the Anarchists, but it was sporadic in its character, breaking out from time to time, completely aimlessly and often contradictory. Anarchistic publications consequently were sometimes permitted and sometimes suppressed. Anarchists were arrested in one place while they were released in other places. They were shot at times and on the other hand were offered advantageous posts. But this chaotic situation was brought to a close by the 10th Communistic Congress in April, 1921, at which time Lenine declared open war without pardon, not only against the Anarchists but also against all anarchistic and syndicalistic tendencies wherever found. From this time was begun a systematic, organized, and ruthless extermination of the Anarchists in Bolshevik Russia. Scores of Anarchists, Syndicalists and their sympathizers were arrested in Moscow and Petrograd the same day Lenine gave his speech, and the following day mass arrests were made of our comrades throughout the country. The persecutions have since continued with increasing brutality, and it has become perfectly clear that the larger the concessions are that the Communist Government make to the capitalists the more intensive become the persecutions of the

It is an established policy of the Bolsheviki to disguise their barbaric attacks against our comrades by a standing accusation of "banditism". This accusation is practically brought against all Anarchists and often against their sympathizers; a particularly convenient method, because in this manner any one can be persecuted by the "tjekan" without trial or investigation.

Lenine's warfare against anarchistic tendencies has assumed the aspect of the most revolting Asiatic form of a war of extermination. A great number of comrades were arrested in Moscow last September, and on the 30th of the same month the "Izvestia" published an official report that ten of the arrested comrades had been shot as bandits. Not one of them had been given a trial nor their cases even investigated, nor were they permitted to have their friends and relatives visit them. Among the executed were found two of the best known Russian Anarchists, whose idealism and readiness to make sacrifices for the cause of humanity had endured the trials of the Czar's prisons, deportation, and persecution and suffering in other countries. These were Fanny Baron, who had succeeded in escaping from the prison in Kyazan a few months previously, and Lev Tchorny, the popular lecturer and writer, who had spent many of his years in exile in Siberia on account of his activities during the Czar's regime. The Bolsheviks have not the courage to admit that they have shot Lev Tchorny; he is listed as "Kurotanioff" in the report of the executed, which, although it was his real name, was unknown to some of his most intimate friends.

The extermination policy continues. A few weeks ago some Anarchists were again arrested in Moscow.

The victims this time were "Universalist-Anarchists", a group which the Bolsheviks themselves had recognized as very friendly. Among the arrested were Askaraoff, Shapiro, (not A.Shapiro from "golos Truda"), and Stitzenko, member of the secretariat of the Moscow section of the "Universalists" and well known throughout Russia. These abominable arrests were at first regarded by the comrades as caused by some over-zealous official, but it was later ascertained that they were officially accused of being bandits, forgers, followers of Makhnow and members of "Lev Tchorny's subterranean group". The meaning of such accusations is too well understood by those who are familiar with the Bolshevik methods. It means execution without warning or trial.

The foul object of these arrests is almost incredible. By accusing Askaroff, Shapiro, Stitzenko, and others of "membership in Lev Tchorny's subterranean group", the Bolsheviks endeavor to justify the murders of Lev Tchorny, Fanny Baron, and the other comrades, who were executed in September, as well as to create a convenient excuse for the shooting of more anarchists. We can assure the readers without hesitation, <u>that there existed no Lev Tchorny's subterranean group.</u> The contention to the contrary is an abominable lie, one of the many similar lies that have been circulated by the Bolsheviks against the Anarchists.

It is high time that the revolutionary labor movement throughout the world becomes acquainted with the blood and murder regime applied by the Bolshevik Government against all who harbor different political views. It is particularly [illegible] that the Anarchists and [illegible]alists take steps to end this [illegible]ism

and - if it is still possible - to save our imprisoned Moscow comrades who are threatened with death. Some of the arrested Anarchists are ready to die through hunger strike, the only available means to protest against the attempt of the Bolsheviks to insult the memory of the martyred Lev Tchorny. Our comrades demand a real moral support. They have a right to demand it. Their sublime self-sacrifice, their lifelong fidelity to the great cause, their unshaken firmness, all entitles them to it. Comrades and friends everywhere! It is you who must assist in the defence of Lev Tchorny's memory and save the valuable lives of Askaroff, Shapiro, and Stitzenko. Do not delay - or it may be too late. Demand the documents of the Bolshevik Government concerning Lev Tchorny, which they claim to have, that "implicate Askaroff, etc. in the Lev Tchorny group of bandits and forgers". Such documents do not exist, unless they are forged. Compel the Bolsheviks to produce them, and let the voices of all honest revolutionists and all respectable humans gather in a world embracing protest against the continuance of the Bolshevik system of outrageous murder of their political opponents. Listen brothers, for the blood of our comrades flows in Russia!

Alexander Berkman Emma Goldman

XXXXX During November 1916 Pinkerton's were retained to ascertain who financed the group of anarchists headed by Emma Goldman. Ira L. B[illegible] an Asst. Supt. was placed in charge of the operation and after the matter received due consideration, an operative known as 24-E was detailed on the matter. Beck is now Secretary of the Western Papers Makers Association with an office in Chicago. He is somewhat friendly to Pinkerton's. The Papers Makers Association had some difficulty with the government during the recent war. 24-E is Alexander T. St. John at pre[illegible] loyed as an investigator out of the Chicago office of The Wm. J. Burns International Detective Agency.

At the time the operation was underteken it was commonly understood about the Pinkerton office at the client was the Illinois Manufacturers Association; reports probably went to an official of the association named Webster. Emma Goldman was then delivering a series of lecturers at the Fine Arts Building in Chicago.

St. John introduced himself to Emma Goldman as a retired Minister from Canada who was interested in making trouble for the Catholics. Emma expected trouble and she believed that St. John could make her prospective trip through Canada a great deal easier. In Chicago he sat on the platform while the lectures were delivered and as a guest he met the leading anarchists and overhheard a great deal of their conversation.

Margaret Anderson, Editor of the Little Review of New York was then in Chicago and had an apartment on Hollywood Avenue near the Lake. A meeting was finally called to be held at her home and discuss the financial side of their enterprise and plan for ways and means to secure fund to carry on the work.

[illegible] people attended this meeting which was on the order of a banquet [illegible] consumed. At this [illegible], the following persons were present: Maxie Hollywood, Emma Goldman, [illegible]

Anderson, Ben Reitman, The Editor of the New York Call, At St. John, a women friend of Margaret Anderson who lived in Indianapolis, a married couple from France and two men from England. During the dinner Reitman approached Emma Goldman and in front of the company told her how passionate he was and wanted her to leave the table and enter a nearby bedroom to satisfy his desires and she had some difficulty in letting him know that she could do nothing for him at the time, etc. All matters were discussed openly and during these talks it came out that a man named Lasker who was the real power who were taking care of the financial problem confronting the organized anarchists in America. More was said about Lasker and it was brought out that Lasker was the advertising man connected with the firm of Lord & Thomas in Chicago. Lester, Asst. Supt. Beck of Pinkerton's had St. John call at the office of Lord & Thomas to identify Lasker as the man who was discussed and the verification was made in some manner.

St. John is in town at present.

Without mentioning the name of Lasker, the local Department of Justice officials could secure from the Illinois Manufacturers Association the data as to who financed the anarchists in America during the war. Some data might also be secured by sending three or four men simultaneously to interview Beack and after getting the data, have some of them remain and keep him engaged in conversation while some member of the party left to interview Secretary Webster of the Illinois Manufacturers or any official who might be named.

There may be nothing to the story but is worthy of at least a preliminary investigation to verify or disprove the connection of Lasker with the organized anarchists.

61-291-27

4781

March 1, 1922.

Mr. Elias Morton,
Federal Building,
Detroit, Mich.
Dear Sir -

[illegible] and [illegible] were [illegible] the Anarchist, [illegible], who was deported from this country - [illegible], 1115 [illegible], Ireland [illegible].

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individuals and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours truly,

[illegible] Burns
Director.

JUN 29 1972
XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

4781

61-29127

March 1, 1922.

Mr. Elias Norton,
Federal Building,
Detroit, Mich.
Dear Sir -

[illegible] dollar bills and [illegible] were [illegible] the Anarchist, [illegible] Norton, who was deported from this country - [illegible], 1115 [illegible], Detroit [illegible].

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individuals and advise me in most detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours truly,

[illegible] Director.

JUN 29 1972
XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

4781

61-291-37

GRH.Jr.

March 1, 1922.

MAR 7 1922

Mr. Bliss Morton,
Federal Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir -

The following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -

Smitty, 8013 Platt Ave., Cleveland
Fleshin, Alva 2259 E 73 St., Cleveland.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individuals and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns

Director.

JAN 29 1972

JMcH

61-291

18735

February 9, 1922.

Major W. H. Cowles,
Chief, Military Intelligence Division, 4,
War Department,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Major Cowles,-

I want to thank you for the confidential communication recently transmitted to me enclosing certain letters sent by friends of Emma Goldman in this country to her abroad.

This information is very interesting to us, and while you have been able to send me communications from this country to Emma Goldman, I enclose copies of replies to the letters sent by her, which I believe will be very interesting reading.

Permit me also to thank you for your letter concerning Alexander Hume Ford, of the Pan-Pacific Union, which is very entertaining.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Burke

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2353 Dallas

(Enclosure)

61-291-39

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

61-291

In reply refer to
U-2

February 27, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Under date of January twenty-fifth, the Legation at Stockholm advised the Department that an extension has been granted to the time limit given Goldman and Berkman for their stay in Sweden. It is stated that they are trying to get permission to go to Austria, and if they succeed in this it is believed that Germany will give them a transit visa. The conservative section of the press has been attacking the Government for permitting these people to stay in Sweden and for allowing Angelica Balabanoff to live there on account of her health. The morning paper for January 25th criticised the permission which had been accorded Soermus to enter Sweden to give a concert for the benefit of the Russian Relief Committee.

These

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

61-291-40

W. L. M.

These criticisms do not appear to worry the authorities, who insist on giving hospitality to one and all, provided they behave themselves in Sweden.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

61-291

In reply refer to
U-2 H

February 27, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

With reference to previous information which has been furnished you relative to the efforts of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to gain readmission to the United States, I enclose herewith copy of a despatch dated February 6, 1922, which has been received from The Hague.

Very truly yours,

W. Hurley

Enclosure:
Copy of despatch from
The Hague, February 6,
1922.

MAR 10 1922

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

61-291-41

The Hague, Netherlands,
February 6, 1922.

No: 860:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure in State Dept letter of 2/27/22

The Honorable,
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to Mr. Hurley's letter U2 of December 23, 1921, relating to Emma Goldman's efforts to gain readmission to the United States.

In this connection, there is enclosed a translation of a memorandum furnished the Legation by the Chief of the 3rd. Section of the General Staff of the Dutch Army relative to the activities of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman who desire to visit the Netherlands as well as England and the United States.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

ENCLOSURE TO DESPATCH NO 866

The well Russian anarchists Emma Goldman, Alex Berkman and Alexander Schapiro are residing at Stockholm at present. A few years ago they were deported to Russia by the American Government and are tired and sick of the treatment, meted out to them in Russia. They had a very luxurious life in the U.S.A. and received much money from the anarchists.

It seems that Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman have been invited by RIJNDERS, Frederik Hendrikstr. 32, Amsterdam, editor of the "Vrye Socialist, to come to Holland for the purpose of holding a few lectures on" Anarchism " and " Anti-Militarism". Emma Goldman is a very clever speaker and she is able to attract a great audience of quite another standard than the ordinary anarchists, on which account her presence in Holland is entirely undesirable.

Emma Goldman and A. Berkman are very anxious to come to Holland on account of the agreeable recollections, dating from 1907 (International Anarchist Congress held at Amsterdam) They also received several invitations from British anarchists, free-thinkers etc., who are very anxious to have lectures given by Emma Goldman and A. Berkman in the industrial centres of England.

Emma Goldman and A. Berkman are of opinion that the U.S. Government is more indulgent with regard to the revolutionaries and that they wish to go back to the U.S.A.via Canada and Mexico. For them money is no matter of trouble, because the anarchists in the U.S.A. will give them the money for their passage. That Emma Goldman and A. Berkman are dangerous anarchists and that it is of interest for Holland and England that they should not be admitted .....

be admitted is proved from the following: They have very special methods of making anarchist propaganda; they understand their work thoroughly and are generally successful. They appeal to all classes of people and attract a great audience by their comprehensive publications. They give not only lectures on "Anarchism" and "Anti-Militarism" but make a special study of the modern dramas and other subjects, which apparently have nothing to do with anarchistic propaganda.

They are very clever in launching their anarchist ideas on the most proper moment. During her propaganda tours in the Western States of America, Emma Goldman had great success and made a great number of converts. On one of her lectures at Spokane about 200 people subscribed to her anarchist paper "Mother-earth". It ever happened in small western towns that a clergy-man allowed her to lecture in his church, under the pretext that her lecture was based exclusively on scientific subjects. He soon discovered her plans and requested the police to arrest her.

ENCLOSURE TO DISPATCH NO. _____

The well Russian anarchists Emma Goldman, Alex Berkman and Alexander Schapiro are residing at Stockholm at present. A few years ago they were deported to Russia by the American Government and are tired and sick of the treatment, meted out to them in Russia. They had a very luxurious life in the U.S.A. and received much money from the anarchists.

It seems that Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman have been invited by RIJNDERS, Frederik Hendrikstr. 38, Amsterdam, editor of the "Vrye Socialist, to come to Holland for the purpose of holding a few lectures on "Anarchism" and "Anti-Militarism". Emma Goldman is a very clever speaker and she is able to attract a great audience of quite another standard than the ordinary anarchists, on which account her presence in Holland is entirely undesirable.

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11147

be admitted is proved from the following: They have very special methods of making anarchist propaganda; they understand their work thoroughly and are generally successful. They appeal to all classes of people and attract a great audience by their comprehension publications. They give not only lectures on "Anarchism" and "Anti-Militarism" but make a special study of the modern dramas and other subjects, which apparently have nothing to do with anarchistic propaganda.

They are very clever in launching their anarchistic ideas on the most proper moment. During her propaganda tours in the Western States of America, Emma Goldman had great success and made a great number of converts. On one of her lectures at Spokane about 200 people subscribed to her anarchist paper "Mother-earth". It even happened in small Western towns that a clergy-man allowed her to lecture in his church, under the pretext that her lecture was based exclusively on scientific subjects. He soon discovered her plans and requested the police to arrest her.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PR.SE.

February 26, 1942.

~~THIS INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

61-291-412

Mr. R.J.Brennan,

Box 262, City Hall Station,

New York.

18736

Dear Sir -

The following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -

N G A, 24 W 16th - N Y
L D A 6 C, 65 W 26 - City
Emma Bach, 49 W 28 St., N.Y.C.
M B, 705 E 140th St.
("Your child, 26 Grove St. (as if you could forget it)"
B B, (the Anarc. king) 21 Van Dam St. N
Rose S, 98 54th Ave.
Dally - 78 Washington Place
Bessie D (Mr's f... 6108 Harrison Av
Dr. C. (Hotel P... ...ia) NY S
Ben - 26 E Wal...
Lola - Washtr...
H F John -
Lizzie -
NOP -
Sara
J B
H
N
F

61-291-42

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

18737

M.A.K. 5 Patchin Place N.Y.
E.S. & Mabel [illegible] Department of Rents Co.
90 - 5th Ave.
Dorothy H. - 20 Grove St - NY
G.H. - 560 Manhattan Ave.
Alvina Fitzhu - 324 W (or E) 60th St. NYC
A F - [illegible] W 110th St.
Gus 165 Broadway, Room 1216
Anderson, Rev. 34 W 126th St.
E. Max - 207 E 122 St.
B B 41 Van Dam St - NY
Blanco, John J. - 5512 - 5th Ave. Bklyn (Decease[illegible])
M. Bakre 45 W 59 St.
Gurnevan, Mile. C. 134 W 70th St. N Y
Cleveland, Riva Rosain 2269 E 75 St.
Diamond, Ida - 1054 Bay Ave. Bronx
Fishman, Mingie, 545 Ft.Wash. Ave., NY
Mrs S Litzner (friend of ?) 555 Pearl St. ?
Miller, J (Libby) 560 Manhattan Ave, NY
Kaft, Dave - 164 Waverly Pl.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of each of the above mentioned individuals, advising me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

CONFIDENTIAL

GFR.JR.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 20,1922.

~~THIS INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

18738

61-291

Mr. J.J.Keeney,
Box 486,
Chicago,Ills.

Dear Sir -

The following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country - (S)

Wes - 1117 Harris Bldg. - Chicago
Workers Inst. - 1606 Ashland Blvd.- Chicago
Ben - 25 E. Walton Place (Chicago ?)

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of each of the above mentioned individuals, advising me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

Director.

~~Exp/para derivative classification Dept. 2353 Bayh~~

61-291-43

RECORDED

M. 1 P.M.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GFZ.JR.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

February 28,1922.

18739

291

Mr. G. A. Bancroft,
Box 2188,
Boston, Mass.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

Dear Sir --

The following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -

A.S.B. (old friend of Bab) 5 Monadnock St. Dorchester, Mass.
Blackwell, Alice Stone, 5 Monadnock St. Dorchester, Mass.

(2)

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of each of the above mentioned individuals, advising me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

J. E. Hoover

Director.

~~Regd. general derivative classification (State Dept) 2335 Baj/ghw~~

61-291-44

317

RECEIVED

M. A. P.M.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GFR.JR. March 1, 1938.

18740

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

61-291

Mr. F.A.Watt,
Box 554,
Portland, Oregon.

Dear Sir -

The following name and address was obtained from the confidential papers of the Amerasian, Alexander Barbara, who was deported from this country -

(b)

City. 1838 Moon Bldg. or
415 S of C Bldg. Portland

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individual and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Very truly yours,

Director.

~~Copy sent / assignment investigation (Sec. Agt) 2333 Maj/gbr~~

RECORDED

61-291-45

INVESTIGATION
MAR 2 1938 2 P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted], 1960.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

18744

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

Mr. E.J. Hoover,
Dir FBI,
Buffalo, N.Y.

61-291

Dear Sir -

The following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -

[redacted]
Main - 821 Mercantile Bldg., Rochester
Sister - 695 Clinton Ave. S - Rochester
Engman - 74 Elliott St., Rochester
Gunnion, Rent-Mercantile Bldg., Main St., Rochester
Kuhn, Igman - 74 Elliott St., Rochester

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individuals and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

~~Special Agent 4533 Bayfield~~

~~Director~~

RECORDED

61-291-46

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Mar 2 42 P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFR.JR.

March 1, 1922.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

18742

61-291

Mr. Oscar Schmitz,
Box 434,
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Sir -

The following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -

Ben S - 615 Jackson St., [redacted], Kans.
Rose J (or F) 574 Harper St., Kansas City
Kate, Box 47, Jeff. City, Mo.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individuals and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Page 1 para. 1 derivative classification (State Dept.) 2355 Maj/gh

61-291-47

RECORDED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WFR.JR.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 3, 1922.

18743

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

61-291-48

Mr. J.J.McLaughlin,

Box 625,

St.Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir -

The following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the [illegible] Alexander Bertman, who was deported from this country -

J. H., 1722 Carr St., St. [illegible] Bldg., St.Louis
O. St. F. P. 1021 - Nel

I desire that you make a [illegible] and thorough confidential investigation [illegible] to tigent individuals and advise me in [illegible] to same.

Prompt attention to this [illegible]

Yours very [illegible]

~~Page 1 para. 1 derivative classification (State Dept.) 2333 [illegible]~~

6317

RECORDED

61-291-48

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GPL.JR.

[redacted]

March 1, 1922

18744

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

61-291

Mr. L.B.Spencer,
Box 987,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Sir -

The following name and address was obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -

Jno. M. - 807 Arcade Bldg. - Pittsburgh.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individual and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Page 1 general declassification (Sixth Appl) 2335 Reg/glw

61-291-49

[redacted]

GPR.JR.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ March 1,1922. 18745

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. F.H.Meeler,
Box 881,
Detroit, Mich.

61-291

Dear Sir --

The following name and address was obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -

(2)

A.J. 1356 Walnut Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Mr - 661 Benson Ave., Detroit, Mich.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individual and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

Director.

~~Page 1 para. 1 derivative Classification (State Dept) 2333 Dej/gw~~

61-291-50

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
M... P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED

1317

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WM.SR.

[redacted]ch 1, 1922.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED 746
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Mr. D.C.Devlin,
Box 13,
Albany, N.Y.

61-291

Dear Sir -

The following name and address was obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -

X L. M. - 121 S. Pearl, Albany.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individual and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

~~Gen. 1 derivative classification (State Dept) 12/29/78~~

Director.

61-291-5

RECORDED

INDEXED

[redacted]

GFR.JR.

18747

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 1, 1926.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

61-291

Mr. F.L.Roche,
Box 574,
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sir -

The following name and address was obtained from the confidential papers of the Amerchist, Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country -

Mrs. J. Egan, Route 2, Box 60 B,
Petaluma, Cal.

(2)

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individual and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Page/para./derivative
Classification (State Dept)
2133 Day/qh

Yours very truly,

61-291-52

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 2 2 P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

RECORDED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

317

18748 1

[redacted]

[redacted] March 1, 1944.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

61-291

Mr. Frank E. Sturgis,
Box 604,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sir -

The following name and address was obtained from the confidential papers of the Amerasia, Alexander Barbour, who was deported from this country -

A.J. (Sugarty) 715 Merritt Bldg.
Los Angeles, California.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above mentioned individual and advise me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover,
Director.

~~Form 1 derivative classification (Date Expt) Sig/qlw~~

61-291-53

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 2 22 P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

RECORDED

[redacted]

[redacted]

1317

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

March 1st, 1922.

61-291

Director, Wm.J.Burns,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir:- Attention Mr.Hoover.

I beg to quote the following memorandum, which was submitted to this office by 836:-

"EMMA GOLDMAN is to give a series of articles in the New York World commencing coming Saturday; there is to be seven articles of 1500 words each for which she is to receive $300.00 each."

Very truly yours,

R.B. Spencer

RBS:O

R.B.SPENCER,
Special Agent in Charge.

WM. J. BURNS · READ BY · MAR 1922

61-291-54

RECORDED
MAR 7 1922

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVER

H. O. L.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Gaigher

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

61-291

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

MAR 6 1922
DIVISION
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

In reply refer to
U2

March 2, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I have recently received a communication from Riga, dated January 30, 1922, relative to Emma Goldman. The impression created upon my informant is that Emma is still an anarchist, and she is quoted as having said that she will never return to the United States as a "prodigal daughter." Emma, Shapiro and Berkman were followed very carefully while they were in the Baltic Provinces and the American Legation at Stockholm was informed by telegram the date of their departure from Reval for Stockholm.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

MAR 1 1922
READ BY
WM. J. BURNS

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

MAR 1 0 1922

61-291-55
RECORDED
4 2 M.
HOOVER
W. A. S.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
U2

March 2, 1922.

61-291

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith copy of a strictly confidential report which has been received from a reliable source in London relative to Emma Goldman.

This is for your information and as being of possible interest.

Very truly yours,

Enclosure:
As stated.

3/9/22

MAR 6 1922

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

MAR 11 1922

WM. J. BURNS READ BY MAR 1922

61-291-56
RECORDED
4
HOOVER FILE

"With reference to your letter of January 10th add seed to Liddell regarding ma Goldman, our lat t information about her i: hat about the middle of December she was staying with Shapiro and Alexander Berkman at the Bolshevik Consulate in Riga. The trio proposed to go to Germany, where Berkman was authorised to represent the P.K.M. at the International Anarchist Congress to be held in Berlin on the 25th December, at which Malatesta was to be present as the Italian, and Bertoni as the Swiss representative. On their failure to obtain visas for Germany Emma Goldman, Bertoni and Shapiro obtained visas for Sweden, but were arrested by the Lettish authorities on their way to Reval. Among other addresses the following were found on them:

ANDERSON, Marg. 24, W. 16th St. New York. ny
BLACKWELL, Alice Stone, 3, Manadnock St. Porchester (Dorchester ?) Mass. Bos.
BLANCO, John J. 5512 5th Avenue Bldg. Kolyn(?) ny
MAX, B. 1356, 182nd Street. ny
B.-B. 21, Van Dam St. New York. ny
B. KITTY, 1318 Jeon Bldg. ny?
Klausner Ernst, Braker St. 29. ny?
Ed. BITTE (BERTHE), 45 West 39th St. ny
DIAMOND, Ida, 1056 Hoe Avenue, Bronx. ny
FLESHIN, Rose, 2259 E. 73rd St. Cleveland. clev.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

61-

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION MAR 8 1922

March 3, 1922.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

Director Wm. J. Burns,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Refer to Mr. Ruch.

Dear Sir:-

Replying to your letter of the 1st instant, giving the name and address obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, will you please advise me as soon as possible the approximate date this information was obtained. In all probability this notation in Berkman's papers stands for "JACOB MARGOLIS" who until about a year ago occupied an office at 508 Union Arcade Building. The history of Margolis is well known to you. ~~(c)~~

Very truly yours,

R. B. Spencer

R. B. SPENCER,
Special Agent in Charge.

RBS:MOH

~~Page 1 para. 1 derivative Classification (State Dept.) 2333 Daj/gbd~~ 3/8/77 DJR

MAR 15 1922

61-297-57

B... ON RECORD... M.

B... E

HOOVER FILE

WM. J. BURNS READ BY MAR 1922

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

18749

[redacted]

March 9, 1942.

Mr. G. H. Hilton,
Rm 255, 407-S Abell Bldg.,
Baltimore, Md.

61-291

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1941, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

[redacted]

Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 8333 Rej/pdw

61-291-38

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAR 9 22 A.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FILE

RECORDED

W.A.

317

OFM.M.

61-391-57

WAR 15 1922

March 8, 1922.

Mr. R.B.Spencer,
Box 987,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Sir -

With reference to your communication of the 3rd instant concerning confidential papers found in the possession of Alexander Berkman, I desire to advise you that this information was secured from the State Department, who in turn obtained the data from their representative abroad.

There is no exact date given as to when this information was secured, but, from the contents of the document transmitting same, I would say about four months ago.

Yours [illegible]

Director.

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333
[illegible]

GFR.JR.

March 8, 1922.

18750

Mr. Lewis J. Baley,
Box 1068, Federal Bldg.,
Atlanta, Ga.

61-291

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1922, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

W. E. Burns
Director.

Encl.

61-291-59

W. A.

617

18751

GFR.JR.

March 8, 1922.

Mr. Lawrence Letherman,
Box 5185, Winthrop Building,
Boston, Mass.

61-291

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1922, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Encl.

GFR.JR.

March 8, 1922.

18752

61-291

Mr. M. F. Blackman,
Rom 906, Federal Building,
Buffalo, N.Y.

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1922, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns

Director.

Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Sajlghs

61-291-61

137

W. A. S.

18753

GFR.JR.

March 8, 1928.

Mr. J. P. Rooney,
Box 455, Federal Bldg.,
Chicago, Ill.

61-291

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1928, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Jaj/glw

61-291-62

317

GFR.JR.

March 8, 1922. 18754

Mr. Elias Norton,
Federal Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

61-291

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1922, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Daj/pw

61-291-63

W. A. S.

18755

GPB.JR.

March 8, 1922.

Mr. E.J.Brennan,
Box 241,City Hall Station,
New York.

61-291

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1922, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2332

61-291-64

RECORDED

6317

W. A. S.

18756

GFR.JR.

March 8, 1922.

Mr. Walter C. Foster,
Box 451, Federal Building,
Philadelphia, Pa.

61-291

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1922, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Encl.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/99 BY 2333 [redacted]

61-297-65

317

GFR.JR.

March 8, 1922.

18757

Mr. Hubert S. White,
Box 452, Citizens Bank Bldg.,
Norfolk, Va.

61-291

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1921, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Encl.

61-291-66

A.S.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

18758

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 9, 1922.

In reply refer to
U-H 861.0-668

61-291

Dear Mr. Burns:

I have just received information from Stockholm to the effect that the Swedish Government extended the visas for Goldman and Berkman to February 22. The Legation was unable to secure any information as to their plans after that date.

Very truly yours,

W. Hurley

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

GFR.JR.

61-291-56.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 9, 1922. 18759

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

Mr. E.J.Brennan,

Box 241,City Hall Station,

New York.

61-291

Dear Sir -

The following names and addresses were obtained from confidential papers of Emma Goldman, Berkoni and Shapiro, who were arrested by the Lettish authorities on their way to Reval -

ANDERSON, Marg. 24 W. 16th St., New York
BLANCO, John J. 5512 5th Avenue Bldg. Kolya (?) (New York City ?)
MAX, B. 1366 182nd St.
B.-3 21, Van Dam St. New York
B. KITTY, 1318 Jeon Bldg. (New York City ?)
KLAUBER ERNST, Broker St. 29 (New York City ?)
M. BITTS (MARMIE) 45 West 59th St.
DIAMOND, Ida, 1056 Hoe Ave., Bronx

(6)

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of each of the above mentioned individuals, advising me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Page 1 para. 1 derivative Classification State Dept. 2333 Maj/ghr

Yours very truly,

J. E. Brennan

61-291-68

Director.

RECORDED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

317

GFR.JR.

March 9, 1922.

18760

Mr. F.H.Hessler,
Box 851,
Detroit, Mich.

61-291

Dear Sir -

Supplementing information contained in my communication of November 10, 1922, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN, I desire to call your attention to the enclosed report recently received by the State Department from The Hague.

Yours very truly,

Director.

Encl. 95056.

61-291-69

RECORDED

f317

W.L.M.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY: CONFIDENTIAL
Chicago, Ill.	Mar.7,1922	Mar.4,1922	JACOB SPOLANSKY

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

NAMES AND ADDRESSES FOUND IN PAPERS OF ALEXANDER BERKMAN — Anarchist Matter

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT CHICAGO ILL.

Reference is made to Bureau communication noted below advising that the following names and addresses were obtained from the confidential papers of the anarchist ALEXANDER BERKMAN, who was deported from this country:-

"COC, 1117 Harris Building, Chicago, Illinois
WORKERS INSTITUTE, 1006 Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Illinois.
BEN --, 25 E.Walton Place, Chicago (?)

"COC" 1117 Harris Bldg., Chicago is CASSIUS COOK, an engineer by occupation, whose office is located at 1117 Harris Trust Bldg., Chicago. COOK is a well-known character to the Bureu office in connection with EMMA GOLDMAN'S activities in this country, also in connection with the activities of the HUMANITY LEAGUE, a known philosophical anarchist organization of which he was president. Shortly before EMMA GOLDMAN'S departure COOK was actively engaged in the organization of the DEPORTATION LEAGUE, and while EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN were in Chicago, CASSIUS COOK was chairman of numerous mass meetings and farewell meetings held in honor of EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN. At the present time COOK is not actively engaged in the anarchist movement, but frequently attends lectures and meetings held under the auspices of the local Anarchist Kropotkin group.

"WORKERS INSTITUTE" 1006 Ashland Blvd., Chicago was established about ten years ago by ALEXANDER TOBINSON alias KRASNOCHEKOFF, who left the United States in 1917 and subsequently became president of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia. During the years 1917, 1918 and 1919 the WORKERS INSTITUTE was the congregating place of anarchists and the headquarters of the so-called Russian Red Guard. This institute is still in existence. M. AUSTIN SIMONDS, one of the old pals of

61-291-70

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:	
GFR:JR 2-28-22	Washington 4; Chicago 2.	JS:EH

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 1 Para 1-3, 8 general discussion Anarchist Organization
Bureau Appl. 2333 Reg 1/9/6

EMMA GOLDMAN is the president of this institute, which is now the educational center for several branches of the Workmen's Circle and the P. KROPOTKIN Anarchist group of which the following individuals are members:- DR. NATHANSON, DR. LEAF, BEN KLEPS, DR. GOLDMAN, DR. BLUM, J. BURNSTEIN, J. KAPLAN, M. KRUPNIK, one MILLER. The activities of this institute have been the subject of numerous reports to the Bureau office. (c)

"BEN" 25 E. Walton Place, Chicago, is DR. BEN REITMAN who resides at that address, and who is known as a "free thinker", former organizer and president of the DILL PICKEL CLUB, now president of the BLUE FISH club, employed by the Health Department of the City of Chicago. His activities have been under investigation and reports of his activities have been submitted on several occasions. Recently one was submitted in connection with his contemplated trip to Europe and the cancellation of his passport by the State Department. (c)

CLOSED.

Instructio pec. Agt. in Charge E J. Brennan:

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
NEW YORK, N.Y.	3/11/22	3/4/22	ALBERT L. WEITSMAN

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN
Anarchist Activities.

FACTS DEVELOPED: ~~Page 1 para. 1-3; page 2 para. 1-5; Page 3 para. 1-3; derivative classification (State Dept) 2333 Bai/gho~~

For the purpose of verifying the addresses and later investigating certain persons whose names had been obtained from the confidential papers of ALEXANDER BERKMAN, who was deported from this country on December 21st, 1920, I today called at the Varick Str. Post Office, Station C. and Station O., the latter two being respectively at Hudson & West 13th Str. and 18th Str. West of 6th Ave. ~~(C)~~

The first address covered was that of 24 West 16th Street, from which place mail signed by "M.C. A." have been sent to Berkman. Inquiries developed that this is a Spanish Club and the carrier who serves mail at the above mentioned place stated he was still receiving mail for "M.C.A." but was unable to state the man's full name. He promised, however, to obtain more definite information and will notify me on receipt of same. ~~(C)~~

The next address covered was 63 West 36th Str., from which place mail had been addressed to Berkman signed "L.D.A." Inquiries here deloped the information that "L.D.A." is LEONARD D. ABBOTT, a well known radical of this city, who appeared as a witness for the defense in the Goldman-Berkman trial. Abbott has not been so active recently as he had been but is still thought to entertain radical ideas. ~~(C)~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF 3/23/22 DATE

61556/1 - 291-71

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT ~~FURNISHED TO~~

WASHINGTON (3) NEW YORK (2) W. A. S. ALW-WED

7—1169

NEW YORK, N.Y. 3/11/22 3/4/22 ALEXANDER BERKMAN A.L. WEITSMAN

The next inquiry was made at 36 Grove Street, where it was learned that a letter signed "Your Child," and addressed to Berkman, was probably sent by STELLA BALLANTYNE, who is a niece of EMMA GOLDMAN, and entertains strongly radical ideas. (C)

An inquiry was made for the purpose of identifying another correspondent of Berkman who signed himself "B.B." and whose address was at 21 Van Dam Street. No such person was known to the carrier and the above address is at present occupied by a MR. WALDORD, a police officer. (C)

Another correspondent of Berkman was one who signed the name "Lola" and gave the address of 17 West 8th Street. Inquiries at this address developed the information that this woman is without doubt LOLA RIDGE, who is a poetess and who has been connected for some time with the anarchistic movement. She is still receiving mail at the address mentioned, which is The Washington Book Store. (C)

From 857 Broadway a certain communications had been received by Berkman signed "Lioness" and the additional address of 28 Grove Street was signed. I learned that "Lioness" is ELENOR FITZGERALD, who now resides at 45 Grove Street and formerly lived with Berkman as his wife. (C)

From 47 East 15th Street, which is The Rand School, Berkman had received mail signed "E.G.F." This is ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who is widely known as a radical agitator of considerable prominence. (C)

7—1100

NEW YORK, N.Y. 3/11/22 3/4/22 ALEXANDER BERKMAN A.L. WEITSMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

Guarded inquiries were made at 40-7th Ave., with regard to another correspondent of Berkman's, who signed himself "J. Hr." but no record could be found of him and the carrier promised to make further inquiries. (C)

From #5 Patchen Place mail had been addressed to Berkman signed "E.A.K." and guarded inquiries at this place developed the information that "E.A.K." are the initials of ELLEN A. KENNAN, who is a well known radical as the files of the Washington Bureau will no doubt show. (C)

Another communication was signed "R. B. and Madeline, Carl's friend of Essex County," from 70-5th Avenue." From inquiries made at the address mentioned I learned that R. B. represented ROGER BALDWIN, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, who served a sentence in Essex County Jail in Jersey for violation of the Draft Act and that Madeline was no doubt MADELINE DOTY, his wife and Carl referred to, was probably CARL NEWLANDER who was deported from this country to Sweden in 1919 for a violation of the Draft Act. (C)

INVESTIGATION CONTINUED.

Instruc Spec. Agt. in Charg J. Brennan:

REPOPT MADE	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD	REPORT MADE BY:
NEW YORK, N.Y.	3/11/22	3/4/22	ALBERT L. WEITSMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN
Anarchist Activities.

FEDERAL INTELLIGENCE
MAR 15 1922

61-291

FACTS DEVELOPED:

State Page 1 para 1-3; Page 2 para 1-5; Page 3 para 1-3 derivative (State Dept) Classification 3333 Bajtho

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61-291-77

MAR 25 1922

RE. DEC

J. M. B.

CONFIDENTIAL

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

WASHINGTON (3) NEW YORK (2)

ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF 0035 ALW-WED
DATE 3/25/22

7—1169

NEW YORK, N.Y. 3/11/22 3/4/22 ALEXANDER BERKMAN A.L. WEITSMAN

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From #7 East 15th Street, which is The Rand School, Berkman had received mail signed "E.G.F." This is ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, who is widely known as a radical agitator of considerable prominence. (C)

7—1.69

NEW YORK, N.Y. 3/11/22 3/4/22 ALEXANDER BERKMAN A.L. WEITSMAN

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INVESTIGATION CONTINUED.

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, IVY 2424
POST OFFICE BOX 1058

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
303-309 FEDERAL BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE
MAR 14 1922

LJB-D

March 11, 1922.

61-291

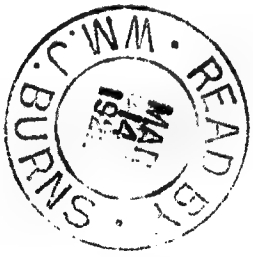
Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:- Attention Mr. Hoover.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, GFR-JR, inclosing report recently received by the State Department from The Hague, concerning the return to this country of EMMA GOLDMAN.

Very respectfully,

Lewis J. Baley,
Special Agent in Charge.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Gaj/ghr

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE [redacted] BY [redacted]

61-291-72

HOOVER

Bureau Letter 3-7 itialed GFR-JR.
Instructions rec om Special Agent in ge M. F. Blackmon.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Buffalo, N.Y.	3/15/22	3/8-14/22	W.L.Buchanan CONFIDENTIAL

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RUDIN, -HEPNAU, (SUSPECTED ANARCHISTS). (Initials and address obtained from the confidential papers of Alexander Berkman).
SISTER, correct name MRS. LENA COMMINSKI,
CUMMINS, " " DR. SAXE COMMINS,
HYMAN HOCHS, " " HYMAN HOCHSTEIN,

FACTS DEVELOPED:

ATTENTION - MR. HOOVER - 2.

Page 1 para 1-3, Pg. 2 para 1, Pg. 3 para 1; Page 1 caption (brackets) derivative classification (State Dept) 2333 Daylight

at Rochester, New York.

MAR 18 1922

With reference to above letter, in compliance with instructions, Agent proceeded to Rochester, New York, to make confidential investigation of subjects with the following results:- (C)

Agent learned that DR. SAXE COMMINS is a dentist at #529 Mercantile Building, Rochester, New York. He is a Russian Jew about thirty-two years old and single. He is a nephew of EMMA GOLDMAN and his mother is MRS. LENA COMMINSKI, sister of EMMA GOLDMAN. His father is SAM COMMINSKI a tinsmith by trade and is now visiting his son in Los Angeles, California, address unknown. He is expected to return to Rochester in a few weeks. DR. COMMINS original name was SAXE COMMINSKI, but he had it legally changed to COMMINS in Rochester. He is a member of the Monroe County Dental Association, which is affiliated with the Allied Dentists of New York City. This information was obtained under pretext and from parties in the Mercantile Building. The COMMINSKIS formerly lived at #475 Clinton Avenue North, Rochester, N.Y. and own that building, but now reside with the mother of EMMA GOLDMAN at #462 South Goodman Street, Rochester, N.Y. (C)

MAR 23 1922

61-271-78

SISTER, referred to in above letter as residing at #475 (C)

RECORDED

REFERENCE: Washington-3; Buffalo-2.

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF

WLB-ES W. L. M.

CONFIDENTIAL

7—1169

Clinton Avenue, North, is MRS. IENA COMMINSKI, sister of EMMA GOLDMAN who is referred to above and who resides at #462 South Goodman Street, Rochester, N.Y. (C)

HYMAN HOCHS, correct name HYMAN HOCHSTEIN, resides at #74 Ellicott Street, Rochester, N.Y., and owns the residence. He is married and has three children and is a nephew of EMMA GOLDMAN. He was formerly connected with the American Express Company in Rochester but is now in charge of correspondence for the Rosenburg Brothers, Tailors. From inquiries made at the Rosenburg plant it was learned that his position is a responsible one and his reputation is very good. Under a pretext he was interviewed by Agent in connection with papers addressed to his house for one HEPNAU, one of the subjects mentioned above, and stated he never knew any such person. (C)

Agent learned from a confidential friend who was well acquainted with HERMAN GOLDMAN, brother of EMMA GOLDMAN, that HERMAN GOLDMAN had always been opposed to Socialism and was not on speaking terms with the rest of the family.

Agent then was introduced to HERMAN GOLDMAN and upon being interviewed, he stated that he had never had any correspondence with his sister and he did not believe that the other members of the family in Rochester had received any correspondence. He did state that the last information he had was that she was in Stockholm, Sweden, and that BERKMAN was there also and he thought that if she could get away from BERKMAN she would be all right, but he did not believe there was

any way for her to get away.from him.

RUDIN, #529 Mercantile Building, Rochester, N.Y. Agent made inquiries among a number of people in the Mercantile Building, especially in offices close by #529, but no one had ever heard of such a man. This is the same number as DR. COMMINS' office and when DR. COMMINS was questioned on the telephone on the pretext that an old friend from New York wished to know RUDIN'S address, he stated that RUDIN'S first name was David and that he was a distant relative, but his present whereabouts were unknown. (C)

CONTINUED.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
U-2

61-291

March 14, 1922.

MAR 23 1922 INTELLIGENCE

Dear Mr. Burns:

The information quoted below relative to Emma Goldman has been received from a reliable source in Berlin, under date of February 20, 1922.

> "The secret police report that about two years ago she came from America to Europe and spent most of her time in Sweden. In 1920 she planned to return to America via Russia for the purpose of resuming her revolutionary work. In Russia she belonged to the 'League for the Promotion of Anarchist Ideals.' She was also, among other things, a member of the anarchist burial committee at the funeral of the well-known Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin, who died last year.
>
> "Up to her recently renewed deportation from America on December 21, 1921, no further reports have reached the police in Berlin. Her entry into Germany was refused by the German Government, so that she could not, as she had planned, take part in the anarchist conference in Berlin last December.
>
> "According to press reports about the beginning of last January the Swedish Government gave her permission for temporary residence in Sweden. In spite of inquiries instituted she has not been discovered in Berlin."

Very sincerely yours,

W. Hurley

MAR 21

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

WM. J. BURNS
BROADWAY

61-291-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
New York City	3/17/22	3/14-15-16/22	Albert L. Weitzman.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
IN RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN - ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES.

FACTS DEVELOPED: ~~At New York: Eg. para 3,4; Eg. 2 Pers / derivative Classification Chief Dept) 2333 Dept~~

Continuing on the above investigation for the purpose of verifying the addresses of former correspondents of Alexander Berkman's, I was engaged during the above period in visiting various addresses and post offices.

One correspondent who had signed hereself "Edna," is believed to be Edna Jane, 27 E. 62nd St. She is said to be a moving picture actress and the wife of J. A. Chapple, who is also engaged in the same industry, and has moved to 157 E. 75th St. Through inquiries made at the post office covering the latter address, it was learned that this woman receives considerable mail and further inquiries are to be made by the carrier in order to learn from which points the mail is forwarded. (C)

Another correspondent of Berkman's, who signed hereself "Riva H. Cleveland," gave an address which might have been either 222, 225 or 259 E. 73rd St. On closer inspection it was thought that there was a possibility of the proper address being 2259 E. 73rd St., Brooklyn, N. Y. The post offices covering the foregoing addresses were visited and thorough inquiry made and in each case I was informed that there was no record of any such person. (C)

The signature of another correspondent was "A. F.," the address given being 606 West 115th St. Guarded inquiries were made at (C)

ALW:FJK J.M.

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington (3) New York (1)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

61-291-75

7—1100

the above address with no result and thereafter a visit was made to Post Office Station "H", 178 We[redacted] which covers the above address. The Superintendent, after having questioned the carriers, informed me that there was no record of anyone receiving mail under the above initials, nor could the carriers remember having ever received mail at the above address for anyone whose initials were "A. P."

Another correspondent of Berkman's signed himself "Max B." and gave his address as 1356 - 182nd St. Inquiry in the neighborhood developed the information that there is no such number, east or west, on 182nd St. Various other inquiries were made in this street, both east and west, as well as inquiries at the Fremont Post Office Station at 1931 Washington Avenue, Bronx, but no information was obtainable regarding this person.

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted] New York City	DATE WHEN MADE: 3/17/22	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 3/14-15-16/22	REPORT MADE BY: Albert L. Weits

MAR 21 1922

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
IN RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN - ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES.

Page 1 para. 2-4; Pg. 2 para 1 Derivative Classification (State Dept) 2333 Date/Ltr

[redacted]OPED: At New York:

Continuing on the above investigation for the purpose of ver-[illegible] the addresses of former correspondents of Alexander Berkman's, I was [illegible]gaged during the above period in visiting various addresses and post offices.

One correspondent who had signed herself "Edna," is believed to be Edna Jame, 27 E. 62nd St. She is said to be a moving picture actress and the wife of J. L. Chapple, who is also engaged in the same industry, and has moved to 127 E. 75th St. Through inquiries made at the post office covering the latter address, it was learned that this [illegible] considerable mail and further inquiries are to be made [illegible] in order to learn from which points the mail is forward-[illegible]

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The signature of another correspondent was "A. P.," the address given being 606 West 115th St. Guarded inquiries were made at

61-291-75

RECORDED

HOOVER

ALW:FJK (c)

Washington: (Pg. Rep. Total 21)

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

AND FIELD OFFICES
REVISED BY ROUTINE
REP (S) OF

CONFIDENTIAL

the above address with no result and thereafter a visit was made to Post Office Station "H", 178 West 102nd St., which covers the above address. The Superintendent, after having questioned the carriers, informed me that there was no record of anyone receiving mail under the above initials, nor could the carriers remember having ever received mail at the above address for anyone whose initials were "A. P." (C)

Another correspondent of Berkman's signed himself "Max B," and gave his address as 1356 - 182nd St. Inquiry in the neighborhood developed the information that there is no such number, east or west, on 182nd St. Various other inquiries were made in this street, both east and west, as well as inquiries at the Tremont Post Office Station at 1931 Washington Avenue, Bronx, but no information was obtainable regarding this person. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
New York, N.Y.	Mar. 22, 1922	Mar. 22, 1922	Geo. J. Starr.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: EMMA GOLDMAN : Anarchist Activities.

MAR 22 1922

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

FACTS DEVELOPED:

61-291

At New York, N.Y.

The above subject has written a series of articles on the collapse of Bolshevism which will appear in the New York Morning World, daily beginning March 26th. There is attached to the original of this report a full page large type advertisement of these articles which appeared in the Morning World, March 20th, 1922, which reads as follows:

CLASS. & EXT. BY 2333 Sal/pbw 3/15/79
REASON - FCIM 11, 1-2, 4.2 (2)
DATE OF REVIEW 3/15/89

"Bolshevism in Collapse! A Series of Ten Brilliant Articles by EMMA GOLDMAN, The Anarchist, who entering Russia with high hopes, has just emerged, disillusioned and awakened to the truth after two years In the Grip of The Iron Hand of the Communistic State, and who writes from her refuge in Sweden a bitter expose of the shams and presense with which LENIN and TROTZKY are tricking the Russian People. Of all visitors to the dark land, she best can write of conditions. The series begins Sunday, March 26th, and will appear Daily in the New York World."

61-291-76

MAY 10 1922

RECORDED

MAR 1922

Attention is also called to the following excerpt from report of confidential informant P-132 dated March 22nd, 1922:

"SPIVAK stated that he has given to J. COHEN (COHN) protest of this Federation against EMMA GOLDMAN on account of her publishing articles in New York World and J. COHEN refused to publish our protest stating that he has a letter from EMMA GOLDMAN in which she explains the purpose of writing of these articles and printing them in capitalist press. This letter will be printed in his journal and then if the Federation insists, he will also print our protest."

AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) DATE 3/31/76

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington 2; New York 2:
(Clipping attached Washington copy)

GJS:VD

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

A reference to the same articles appears on pages 1 & 2, of report of Special Agent Ralph Palmera, dated 3-15-22 re confidential Number 3. The FITZI referred to in this article is ELEANOR FITZGERALD. The telephone number given, Spring 8563, is the Provincetown Players, 133 MacDougal St., New York City. FITZGERALD will be remembered as a former sweetheart of ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

Another reference to these articles appears on page 1, 2, & 3 of report of Special Agent Wm. Ralph Palmera, dated March 2, 1922 re Confidential Number3. The STELLA referred to in this report is undoubtedly STELLA BALLANTYNE, EMMA GOLDMAN'S niece, who is understood to reside at the Stelton School, Stelton, N.J.

According to an article published in the New York World on March 22nd, it would appear that EMMA GOLDMAN sent her articles here to be published in the radical press, but foreseeing that it might be difficult to place these letters in the radical press, she instructed her representative to place them in the capitalist press as a last resort. The appearance of these articles in the New York World proves according to the "Day"(Jewish newspaper) that the radical press has refused to publish them.

In report of Special Agent Wm. R.Palmera dated 3-15-22 re confidential #3 on page 2, 2:40 P.M. incoming, reference is made to BEEWECK of the New York World, who asks CARLO TRESCA for letters of reference to EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN. Investigation shows that this name should read, SAMUEL SPEEWACK, who is being sent to Europe by the Washington office of the New York World. This man should not be confounded with SPIVAK referred to in report of P-132

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

Instructions rec[illegible] m Special Agent Ch[illegible] ly.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
New York, N.Y.	Mar.22, 1922	Mar.18-20-21-22, 1922	Michael J. Clafter.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: ALEXANDER BERGMAN ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Anarchistic Activities.

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York, N.Y.

61 - 2 MAR 27 1922

Reference is made to Bureau letters dated February 28th and March 9th, 1922, relative to verifying names and addresses. Agent went to Post Office Station "T", Bronx, New York, thinking that the address of M.J.JAKE, 275 Washington Avenue, might be 1275 Washington Avenue. The carrier who covers this district said there was no 1275 Washington, Avenue, Bronx, Agent verified same. Agent then proceeded to 275 Fort Washington Avenue, New York City and found an empty lot. The last number, is 271 Fort Washington Avenue, New York City. (C) ~~Pg.1 para. 1-4, Pg.2 para 1-4, Pg.3 para. 1, 2 derivative classification (Statement) 2333 Maj/gb~~

Regarding BESSIE KIMMELMAN or FROEDMAN, 989 - 9th Avenue, New York City, Agent proceeded to 9th Avenue and tried to locate 989, but the last number is 925 - 9th Avenue. The carrier who covers this ground, does not remember ever having any mail for the above mentioned party. (C)

The address of DOLLY or POLLY, 78 Washington Place, New York City, the Agent found to be a furnished room house, and that name unknown there. The carrier who covers this house has done so for 16 years and does not remember ever having any mail for either of the names. (C)

RECORDED APR 3 1922 61-291-77

The name of MLLE. CORNEVANX 134 W. 70th Street, New York City, is unknown to carrier on this route and the present people living (C)

REFERENCE: GFR:JR 61-29156

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 3: New York 1: AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP (S) OF DATE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MJC:AH

J. M. B.

in 134 W. 70th St., have only been there since December 1st, 1921. This place is a rooming house and the whereabouts of the people who ran it before the present owners, is unknown. (c)

J. MILLER or LIBBY MILLER lived at 540 Manhattan Avenue, New York City. This place is an apartment house, housing 60 families. The carrier drops the mail in the hall and the tenants look it over themselves. LIBBY MILLER lived at 540 Manhattan Avenue with her mother, sister and brother until she was married to MR. LUSSKIN. who is at present in business with LIBBY'S brother, ISADOR, at 170 Broadway. The firm name is "A. LUSSKIN & CO., Chemical Importers." (c)

MINNIE FISHMAN, of 245 Fort Washington Avenue, New York City, is married to JACOB FISHMAN, and they have two children. They lived at the above address until September 21st, 1921, then moved to 710 River Side Drive, Corner 148th St. They receive very little mail. (c)

The address of G. SARA 38 East 59th Street, New York City is a store, occupied by one HARRY GRUBER a tailor. Agent got in conversation with GRUBER Agent saying he was from the Board of Elections. HARRY GRUBER stated his wife's name was SARA, and came from Chicago, Ill., about 3 years ago. While in Chicago they lived at 3417 Broadway. At present they reside at 224 E. 67th Street. MR. GRUBER became a citizen March 23rd, 1905. He was naturalized at Superior Court County, Ill. They have three children. (c)

ALVINA NITZKE, (should be NITSCHKE), of 314 W. 58th Street, New York City, has lived at this address for the past five years and is living there at present. The place is a rooming house. ALVINA NITZKE (or NITSCHKE) goes to work every day, and has a private mail (c)

CONFIDENTIAL

March 23, 1922. Michael J. Clafter

box, and receives a quantity of mail, mostly first class. There is a man living with her, perhaps her brother, who is known as "BOB". (C)

DOROTHY M., of 80 Grove Street, New York City, is known to be DOROTHY M. ABBOTT, either a wife or sister to LAWRENCE B. ABBOTT, a pronounced radical. DOROTHY M. has lived in this house for the past 5 or 6 years. It is a studio apartment house. She occupies one of the apartments. (C)

IDA DIAMOND lives at 1056 Hoe Avenue, Bronx, with a relative - DR. GOLDMAN. She receives very little mail. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

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OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

CJS-JWD.

61-291

March 27, 1922.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

General Intelligence Division

IN RE: EMMA GOLDMAN
Anarchist Activities.

Dear Sir:

I am attaching clippings from the New York World of March 26th and 27th, articles by Emma Goldman, which are self explanatory.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

MAR 30 1922

Enc.

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DATE 3/15/79 BY 2333 Jaj/gh

61-291-78

MAR 28 1922
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
HOOVER

WM. J. BURNS · READ BY
MAR 29 1922
317

AGENCY WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Seattle, Wash.	Mar. 2 '22	Mar. 9-22-1922	R. A. DARLING

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

EMMA GOLDMAN - ALEXANDER BERKMAN - SHAPIRO - WOLFF

ANARCHISTIC ACTIVITIES.

CONFIDENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Page 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 here all directive Classification (State Dept) 2333 Bayh

AT HOME COLONY, WASHINGTON:

The following information is submitted herewith from Confidential Agent F-54:

"Pursuant to instructions, Agent proceeded to HOME COLONY to locate information in re EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN, SHAPIRO and WOLFF, if same was to be found in private conversation or from private letters received from them. Agent went to and stopped with JAY FOX, well known anarchist, visiting amongst other anarchists and radicals living there, returning at noon on this date.

"Of the first three above named anarchists - GOLDMAN, BERKMAN, and SHAPIRO - are all in Stockholm, very considerably troubled as to whether they will be permitted to remain there. This is a problem to them on three counts; first, that they areactively propagandizing anarchism wherever they are, and thus receive the hostility of the Swedish Government (or a part of it, since Sweden has a Socialist Premier); secondly, they might be put out of Sweden at any moment upon representations being made Sweden by the Soviet Government that they - GOLDMAN, BERKMAN and SHAPIRO were enemies of the Soviet regime, and upon threatening interruption in the field of trade relations between Soviet Russia and Sweden, their return into the hands of the Tcheka (Soviet Secret Police) might be effected. The Soviet state has become notorious for just such arrangements already, notably in the instance of the anarchist MAHKNO, whose extradition from non-Soviet territory has recently been demanded by TCHITCHERIN; and the third count which makes their continued stay in Sweden very precarious, is that every pro-anarchist influence in the Swedish labor movement and radical camps generally is being propagandized to make their expulsion from Sweden a cause celebre and thus "embarrass' the party in power. In such an event - so anarchists throughout Europe and America fear- it could be expected that the Swedish Government would wink at their kidnapping or assassination by the Tcheka, something not at all impossible as these are reputed to be the methods used by the Tcheka against a manner of active opponents to the Soviet Government upon whom they can lay hands.

NOT TYPED IN FILE AND FIELD OFFICES ADVISED BY SUPPLEMENTAL SLIP (S) OF

61-291

MAR 29 1922

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CONFIDENTIAL

"These three anarchists, as well as all or most others, are rapidly developing a 'holy terror' of the Russian communists. It can scarcely be doubted but what all three of them, or the first two, GOLDMAN and BERKMAN, would long since have been executed or assassinated while incarcerated within Soviet Russia, except for the Russian communists' belief that the 'European reaction' would have been too severe, as even prominent communists throughout Europe protested against their imprisonment and detainment in Russia. On sharp protest to LENIN, they were released and permitted to leave Russia on his personal orders, but this caused a considerable inside "party quarrel' by the Tcheka's representations against it. As it was, on secret information lodged against them with either the Latvian or Lithuainian Government, GOLDMAN and BERKMAN were arrested in one or the other of these countries, and held incommunicado, the Tcheka having misrepresented the matter to the arresting government, that GOLDMAN and BERKMAN were 'spies against the Soviet'. Swedish business interests are reputed to be making enough money in trading with Soviet Russia to be favorably inclined toward whatever representations are made them by the Soviet, so that, as above stated, GOLDMAN and BERKMAN'S position is decidedly precarious in Stockholm.

"Upon severe examination and search, nothing incriminating on their part (as to documents, reports, etc.) against the Soviet being found upon them, the arresting government through which they had journeyed to reach Stockholm, released and permitted them to depart.

"It is the belief of anarchists with whom Agent conversed at HOME COLONY that, should they be expelled from Sweden, they will seek refuge in one or other of two places: London or Mexico. EMMA GOLDMAN is said to favor Mexico, as she imagines the 'social revolution' is due in the United States in a few years, and would like to be 'close at hand'. BERKMAN favors London.

"Both of these persons have come out of Soviet Russia with a good deal of information as to 'communist tyranny' towards all opponents and anarchists in particular. They immediately launched a tirade against the Soviet regime, appealing for 'assistance for imprisoned comrades' in Soviet jails, etc., claiming that of all prisoners, anarchists were the worst treated, that hundreds were starving, scores awaiting the death penalty, that 'banditry and counter-revolution' charges were the weapon universally used by the Tcheka and communist party in Russia against anarchists.

"This indicates somewhat a return on the part of the Soviet state to the Right, that is to say, to the principles of order and regulated social control. On the part of the anarchists and all 'left wing' elements opposed to state control of whatsoever order, it indicates the lines of their future propaganda, which will be against Soviet Russia and the Russian Communist Party. Already on the basis of the representations made by GOLDMAN and BERKMAN

7—1169

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

all left wing groups not affiliated with either the COMMUNIST THIRD INTERNATIONAL, the RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL or the official COMMUNIST PARTIES elsewhere, a big 'drive' in hostile criticism, extreme scepticism, and, presumably, in the near future, forms of active opposition will be made by all such groups against all and everything known as 'communistic', especially will it be directed against the COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA, THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AND THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL. (C)

"In this connection, this Agent desires to include the following suggestion, one based upon observation of the effect the protestations and charges made by GOLDMAN and BERKMAN have already had amongst the radical world generally. Such charges and protests by persons as promient as these two (and others, such as the reports of the I.W.W.'s delegate to the RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL, GEORGE WILLIAMS - an exceedingly hostile and adverse report),- these should be examined carefully by competent officials and given the widest circulation throughthe press; for nothing known to this Agent causes or can cause such consternation, divisions, splits, mutual back-biting, group hostility throughout the radical world as publicity of their own antagonisms. (C)

"The recent brochure issued by the Headquarters of the I.W.W. in Chicago, entitled 'THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION', an emanation from the pen of ALEXANDRA KOLLANTAI, formerly and for three years, chief commissar of 'Social Service and Russian Women's Relief' (the soviet bureau supervising prostitution, the social evil generally and much 'social relief' work), is an example. This document is 'from the inside' of the very communist policy. It illustrates what a bureaucracy has developed under the Soviet regime, how affairs are handicapped, opposed, defeated through insufferable (in her words, at least) red tape; how the 'real workers' are cheated of the 'rights of self initiative' and 'self government'; how graft, favoritism, inefficiency is universal throughout the regions of soviet control, and is a direct appeal to the scepticism and even active opposition of the radical world against the dictatorship of the COMMUNIST PARTY IN RUSSIA. (C)

"Competent examination and culling from this brochure and from similar reports, given wide publicity through, say, an institution like the Associated Press, would tend to destroy and minimize the hitherto fanatical support of the radical world towards Soviet Russia, that support very conceivably being sufficient to affect American foreign policy towards Soviet Russia, or at least hamper our Government's officials. Not all of such reports should be republished, to be sure, but competent selection should be made, as, already, no single element has so split, and will so continue to split radical support and even interest in communistic Russia as these which are coming out of Russia from the mouths and pens of outstanding radicals, of whatever school. (C)

CONFIDENTIAL

7—1169

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"In the above connection, the last issue of "THE DAWN", a new anarchist weekly publication in Seattle, is illustrative. (Refer to report of Agent Darling, entitled "The Dawn" under date of March 23,1922). It contains an article signed 'X.Y.Z'. 'X.Y.Z' is ALEXANDER BERKMAN, and he assumed this anonymity because of the danger such article would subject him to while still within Soviet Russia. It should be sifted, selected and given publicity. The article was brought out of Russia (before BERKMAN came out) by a 'wobbly delegate', presumably by some delegate of the I.W.W. at the RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL. (C)

"GOLDMAN and BERKMAN (as well as SHAPIRO) and anarchists in Europe, at their recent 'international congress' in Berlin, formed, secretly, the program of 'infiltration of the trade unions of the world.' This was three fold in its purpose: to spread the propaganda of anarchism amongst wage workers universally, to destroy the Red TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL'S chances of capturing the trade unions, and to sabotage and upset government and industry generally by working through the 'economic forces' of trade unions, planning active support to all and every strike movement with a view to achieving a 'general international strike' at the earliest date possible. This word from their congress has gone forth to the anarchists of the entire world, and will tend to bring about that 'unity of action' of all red forces within the trade unions, and of which, below, more will be covered apropos W. Z. FOSTER'S latest move, the THE TRADE UNION EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE. (C)

"At their Congress, the question of where to locate their 'international central offices' caused much debate and thought, some speaking for Berlin, some for London, and most for Stockholm, which latter city was finally chosen, 'because of our strong support there.' This evidently means that the anarchist movement and the anarcho-syndicalist unionism of Sweden has a strong hold upon the government. (C)

"The general tome of the Congress was for 'organization' as anarchists, something rather foreign to anarchists hitherto, and indicating the great jealousy and envy the spectacle of left wing socialists controlling a great state - Russia - has created in the hearts of anarchists generally. In other words, their itch for power feeds upon the phenomenon of Soviet Russia and its Communist Party to such an extent that even anarchists are willing to 'organize' adapt, recognize and identify themselves as an 'official organization', a brand new departure for anarchists, since the historic split between KARL MARX and BAKUNIN over the Paris Commune and the former International. (C)

"It indicated, too, a tendency (such as was always potential amongst anarchists hitherto) to, if not repudiate, at least to no longer stress their 'propaganda by deed', political assassination. (C)

7—1169

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

in short, substituting for it, propaganda amongst trade unionists and wage workers generally. This gives anarchism a new angle, and, as will be covered below, relates them to the trade unions in a manner largely foreign to America hitherto; tending, in short, to the development of an anarcho-syndicalistic spirit here as against the trade unions (as they exist at present) and the I.W.W. (C)

"Of WOLFF nothing was ascertained, and the opportunity and advisability for extensive inquiry did not present itself." (C)

Investigation Continued.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

CJS-JWD.

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

March 29, 1922.

61-291

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

In Re: Articles by Emma Goldman.
New York World.
General Intelligence Division.

Dear Sir:

I am attaching herewith articles by Emma Goldman appearing in the New York World of March 28th and 29th.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

Rec'd. Y.C.T.

3-30-22 W

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APR 4 1922

61-291-80

RECORDED

MAR 30 1922

HOOVER

Pen Copy

[redacted]

March 30,1922.

[redacted]

18763

Mr. R. McLaughlin,
The National Association of Book Publishers,
354 Fifth Avenue, New York.

61-291

Dear Sir -

By reference from the Attorney General, your communication of the 25th instant with regard to the publication of articles in the New York papers by [redacted] GOLDMAN, has come to my attention.

Under the existing Federal legislation, it is impossible for this Department to take any action with regard to the publication of these articles.

Yours very truly,

W. J. Burns

Director.

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61-291-81

MAR 31 1922

RECORDED

J. M. B.

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

CJS-JWD.

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

March 31, 1922.

61-291

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice, General Intelligence Division.
Washington, D. C.

In Re: Articles By Emma Goldman.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing articles by Emma Goldman appearing in the New York World for March 29th and 30th.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

Rec'd. G.C.T.

Encl
EW4-1-22
4-1-22W

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APR 5 1922

61-291-82

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
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CJS-JWD.

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

April 4, 1922

APR 5 1922

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

General Intelligence Division.

In Re: ARTICLE BY EMMA GOLDMAN
NEW YORK WORLD.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing an article appearing in the New York World of April 4, 1922, by Emma Goldman concerning conditions in Russia.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

Rec'd. g.e.i. 4-7-22

Cud. E 1174.5 4-5-22 W.

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APR 10 1922

61-291-83

APR 5 1922 RECORDED

HOOVER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

General Intelligence Division.

From Mr. Bush APR 14 1922

Mr. Scoggins .....
Miss Gandy .....
Mr. Gaines .....
Mr. Hoover .....
Miss Merriam .....
Miss Trovillion .....
Miss White .....

oooOooo

Please see me
Please note, initial and return
Necessary action
For confidential file
Please furnish tickler
Please photostat
For your information
Record
Remarks _____

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

CJS-JVD.

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

April 4, 1922.

61-291

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

General Intelligence Division.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing copies of articles by Emma Goldman appearing in the New York World for April 2d and 3d, 1922, together with an article appearing in the New York Tribune of April 3, 1922.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE.

APR 10 1922

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61-291-84

RECORDED
APR 5 1922

HOOVER

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

18765

April 4, 1922.

61-291

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION.
Re: Emma Goldman - Anarchist Activities.

Dear Sir:

I am attaching a clipping taken from the "New York World" of even date concerning Soviet Russia, an article by Emma Goldman.

Rec'd TOY. 4-10-22

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN,
Special Agent in Charge.

CJS:FJK
Encl.
8104-5-17
4-5-22 N.

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APR 11 1922

61-291-85

RECORDED
APR 5 1922

W. E. M.

HOOVER

f317

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

61-291

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

18766

April 11, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

Information has recently been received from Stockholm under date of March 21, to the effect that Emma Goldman is still quietly living there, having received further extensions to the length of time for which her visa is good. She seems to have convinced the police authorities that her bad health requires medical attention in Sweden and it looks as though she might be there for sometime to come.

Very truly yours,

W. L. Hurley

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

W. L. M.

f317

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1922.

61-291

Dear Mr. Burns:

I enclose herewith a list of addresses found in possession of Emma Goldman which I have just received from London. I shall be pleased to be advised of the value of this information in order that the source may be informed as to its authenticity.

4/21/22

Very truly yours,

Hurley.

APR 26 1922

APR 13 1922

61-291-87

Enclosure:
As above stated.

RECORDED

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

COPY

Anderson, Marg. 24 W 16 S. New York.

A.Aline, 715, Merrit Bldg. Gorod Billy.

B. Max, 537 E. 182 St.

Ed. Sehre, 45, W. 39 St.

M.A.C. Dr. - 1457 East Parkway.

Cummins, Saxe Mercantile Bldg., Main St. Roc.

Cornevaux, Mlle C. - 134 W. 70th St. N.Y.

Cleveland, Riva Hossin - 2259 N. 73 St.

Fishman, Minnie, 243 Ft. Wash. Ave, N.Y.

Hocks, Hyman - 74 Ellicott St. Roc.

Miller, J. (Libby) - 540 Manhattan Ave. N.Y.

Sina Camensky - 462 South Goodman. R. N.Y.

A.J. 1336 Wolmot Ave. Anee Arbor or 661 Seneca Av. Detroit.

Bessie Kimmelman c/o Mr. Preedman 989 9th Ave. N.Y. City

Grace K. - 1421 Clayton St. Denver.

R.B. & Madeleine. Carl's friends of Essex Co. 70 - 5th Ave.

Jac. M. - 307 Arcade Bldg. Pittsburgh.

L.M. - 121 S. Pearl Albany.

Dorothy M. - 80 Grove St. N.Y.

Alvina Nitzke - 314 W. (or N) 58th St. N.Y. City

Mary H. VOB 24 Charles St. or Provincetown.

O. ST. F. P. 1011 - Holland Bldg. St. Louis.

Kate, Box 47, Jeff. City Ms.

M.C.A. 24 W. 16th - NY.

L.D.A. C.O. 63 N 36 City
19 - 83.

Edwin Buch..... 49 W. 39 St. Ny.City.

M.B. 753 E 182nd St.

A.S.B. (old friend of Bab). 3 Monadnack St. Dorchester Mas.

B.B. (the Amer....King) 21 Van Dam St. N.

Kitty, 1310 Yoon Bldg. or 419 C of C Bldg. Portland.

A.B. (sugartop) 715 Merritt Bldg. Los Angeles.

Smitty 8013 [illegible]t Av. Cleveland, O.

S.R. c/o Mrs. [illegible], Oneonta N.Y.

[illegible] 4[illegible] 5th Av.

[illegible] - 1117 [illegible] Bldg. - Chicago

[illegible] - 529 Mercantile Bldg. Roch.

Sister - 475 Clinton Ave. N. - Rochester.

Bessie D. - (Mo's friend) - 2109 Harrison Ave. N.Y. City.

Lola - Washingt. Bookshop 17 W. 8th St.

Rose J. (or P) 274 Mercer St. Kansas City

M.F. Jake - 275 St. Washington Av. N.Y.

[illegible] - 7E. 15th St.

M. 1056 Nal Ave. Bronx.

Sara G. (new business add) 36 E 59th N.Y.

J.M. 1722 Carr St. St Louis.

J.Mr. 40 - 7th Ave. City.

[illegible] - 74 Ellicott St. Roch.

Workers' Inst. - 1006 Ashland Bldg. Chicago, Ills.

Mrs. J. Kagan, Route 2, Box 58 B, Petaluma, Cal.

Dana - 27 E. 62nd Str.

Miriam, Clinton Ar At. Westfall St. Rochest

Dolly - 88 Washington Place. ?

Ben G. 613 Jackson St. Lopeka - Kans.

GFR:JWM

C1-291-87

APR 26 1922

April 21, 1922.

Mr. W. L. Hurley,
Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hurley:

Reference is made to your communication of the [illegible] instant transmitting a list of addresses found in the possession of [illegible], which you received from London.

In this connection I desire to call your attention to your communication of February 9th enclosing despatch No. 1549, dated December 31, 1921, which you received from the American Commissioner at Riga, and which contains this same list of addresses.

Reports covering our investigation of these Subjects have been forwarded to you from time to time, immediately upon their receipt.

Yours very truly,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 [illegible]

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

March 3, 1922.

Director Wm. J. Burns,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Refer to Mr. Ruch.

Dear Sir:-

Replying to your letter of the 1st instant, giving the name and address obtained from the confidential papers of the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, will you please advise me as soon as possible the approximate date this information was obtained. In all probability this notation in Berkman's papers stands for "JACOB MARGOLIS" who until about a year ago occupied an office at [redacted] Union Arcade Building. The history of Margolis is well known to you. (c)

Very truly yours,

R. B. Spencer

R. B. SPENCER,
Special Agent in Charge.

RBS:MOH

~~Page 1 para. derivative Classification (State Dept) 2333 Daj/gh~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE~~

GFR.JR.

61-291-56.

MAR 11 1922

March 9, 1922.

Mr. Bliss Morton,

Federal Bldg.

Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir -

The following name and address was obtained from confidential papers of Emma Goldman, Bertoni and Shapiro, who were arrested by the Lettish authorities on their way to Reval - (C)

FLESHIN, Rose, 2259 E. 73rd St., Cleveland.

I desire that you make a complete and thorough confidential investigation of the above individual, advising me in great detail as to same.

Prompt attention to this matter is desired.

Yours very truly,

J. E. Burns

Director.

~~Page 1 para. 1 derivative Classification (State Dept.) 2333 Daj/ghw~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HJD-FZ

2680

Post Office Department

OFFICE OF THE SOLICITOR

Washington

April 15, 1922.

4/21/22

61-291

Mr. William J. Burns,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Burns:

I am pleased to forward to your bureau for such action as you may deem necessary a copy of a communication dated the 11th instant from Mr. W. L. Hurley of the State Department, together with a list of addresses found in possession of Emma Goldman.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Edwards
Solicitor.

APR 20 1922

APR 26 1922

Enclosures.

61-291-88

RECORDED

M.

HOOVER | FILE

APR 20 1922 BUR READ

JUN 29 1972

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

C O P Y

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
Washington.

April 11, 1922.

Dear Mr. Edwards:

I enclose herewith a list of addresses found in possession of Emma Goldman which I have just received from London. I shall be pleased to be advised of the value of this information in order that the source may be informed as to its authenticity.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) W. L. Hurley.

Enclosure:
As above stated.

John H. Edwards, Esquire,
Solicitor, Post Office Department.
Washington, D. C.

COPY

Anderson, Marg. 24 W 16 S. New York.

A.Aline, 715, Merrit Bldg. Gorod Billy.

B. Max, 537 E. 182 St.

Ed. Sehre, 45, W. 39 St.

M.A.C. Dr. - 1457 East Parkway.

Cummins, Saxe Mercantile Bldg., Main St. Roc.

Cornevaux, Mlle C. - 134 W. 70th St. N.Y.

Cleveland, Riva Hossin - 2259 N. 73 St.

Fishman, Minnie, 243 Ft. Wash. Ave, N.Y.

Hooks, Hyman - 74 Ellicott St. Roc.

Miller, J. (Libby) - 540 Manhattan Ave. N.Y.

Sina Camensky - 462 South Goodman. R. N.Y.

A.J. 1336 Wolmot Ave. Anee Arbor or 661 Seneca Av. Detroit.

Bessie Kimmelman c/o Mr. Proedman 989 9th Ave. N.Y. City

Grace K. - 1421 Clayton St. Denver.

R.B. & Madeleine. Carl's friends of Essex Co. 70 - 5th Ave,

Jac. M. - 307 Arcade Bldg. Pittsburgh.

L.M. - 121 S. Pearl Albany.

Dorothy M. - 80 Grove St. N.Y.

Alvina Nitzke - 314 W. (or N) 58th St. N.Y. City

Mary H. VOB 24 Charles St. or Provincetown.

O. ST. F. P. 1011 - Holland Bldg. St. Louis.

Kate, Box 47, Jeff. City Ms.

M.C.A. 24 W. 16th - NY.

L.D.A. C.O. 63 W 36 City
19 - 83.

Edwin Buch..... 49 W. 39 St. Ny.City.

M.B. 753 E 182nd St.

A.S.B. (old friend of Bab). 3 Monad

E.B. (the Amer....King) 21 Van Dam

Smitty 8013 Platt Av. Cleveland, O.

S.S. c/o Mrs. Lawrence, Oneonta N.Y.

Rose.S. 95 5th Av.

Coo - 1117 Harris Bldg. - Chicago

Rudin - 529 Mercantile Bldg. Roch.

Sister - 475 Clinton Ave. N. - Rochester.

Bessie D. - (Mo's friend) - 2109 Harrison Ave. N.Y. City.

Lola - Washingt. Bookshop 17 W. 8th St.

Rose J. (or F) 274 Mercer St. Kansas City

M.F. Jake - 275 St. Washington Av. N.Y.

RGP - 7E. 15th St.

M. 1056 Nal Ave. Brone.

Sara G. (now business add) 38 E 59th N.Y.

J.H. 1722 Carr St. St Louis.

J.Hr. 40 - 7th Ave. City.

Hepnau - 74 Ellecott St. Roch.

Workers' Inst. - 1006 Ashland Bldg. Chicago, Illa.

Mrs. J. Kagan, Route 2, Box 58 B, Petaluma, Cal.

Edna - 27 E. 62nd Str.

Miriam, Clinton Ar At. Westfall St. Rochester.

Dolly - 68 Washington Place. ?

Ben C. 613 Jackson St. Lopeka - Kans.

N... File R-115-E.

Instructions received from Special Agent Chas. J. Scully.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
New York, N.Y.	Apr.21,1922	Apr.20,1922	Michael J. Clafter.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN and EMMA GOLDMAN. Investigation of addresses found in subject's effects. BESSIE D.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/14/79 BY 2333 Sojlafer

61 291

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At New York, N.Y.

Agent proceeded to the Morris Heights Post Office Station at Davidson and Burnside Avenue, the Bronx, and interviewed superintendent EDWIN A. TEXTOR, and carrier CASPER J. GRABER who covers 2109 Harrison Avenue, Bronx. Both said that they knew nothing about any mail going to 2109 Harrison Avenue for one known as BESSIE D.

At 10:30 A.M. Agent proceeded to 2109 Harrison Avenue and looked over the letter boxes in the hallway. There was one name beginning with "D" (DAVIDOFF). Agent then interviewed MRS. ANNA AYARY, the superintendent, who showed Agent a list of tenant's names. The name of DAVIDOFF appeared on the list. Agent inquired of MRS. AYARY if she knew MRS. DAVIDOFF'S first name. She replied that she did not know but that she would ask MRS. DAVIDOFF (under some pretence) over the wire. MRS. AYARY called MRS. DAVIDOFF on the house-phone, and asked for her first name, for a new house telephone list of tenants and their wives. MRS. DAVIDOFF replied that her name was BESSIE.

FEDERAL INTELLIGENCE APR 25 1922

At 11:30 A.M. Agent returned to the Morris Heights Post Office Station and again asked superintendent TEXTOR and carrier GRABER if they knew anything about BESSIE DAVIDOFF, of 2109 Harrison Avenue.

61-291-89

MAY 2-1922

WM. READ BY

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
GFR:JR 2-28-22	Washington 8: New York 2:

MJC:AH

7—1169

ORIGINAL

Carrier GRABER replied that the DAVIDOFFS received mail from Russia quite frequently. BESSIE D is married and has two children. At 12:05 Agent proceeded to the Bronx Office of the Board of Elections, 149th Street and Bergen Avenue and interviewed MR. CHARLES LEBWITH, a clerk, relative to subject's husband. Agent looked over the registration book for 1920 and 1921, and found HARRY DAVIDOFF and ELIZABETH DAVIDOFF registered from 2109 Harrison Avenue. He is 41 years old, she, 32 years of age. Both were born in Russia. He has been in the United Stated 36 years and she for 27 years. HARRY DAVIDOFF votes on his father's papers, and ELIZABETH DAVIDOFF votes on her husband's rights. DAVIDOFF, is, at present, a teacher in Stuyvesant High School, East 15th Street, New York City, and receives $3700 per year, salary. He has been with the Board of Education since 1900.

Agent then proceeded to the office of the bureau. Agent believes MRS. BESSIE DAVIDOFF is the BESSIE D. referred to in the bureau letter of February 28th.

GFR.JR.
61-291-88.

APR 26 1922

April 21,1922.

Mr. John H. Edwards,

Solicitor, Post Office Department,

Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Edwards -

I desire to thank you for your communication of the 15th instant, enclosing a list of addresses found in the possession of Emma Goldman, which you received from Mr. W. L. Hurley, of the State Department.

The individuals referred to in the aforementioned list will receive appropriate attention by my field agents.

Yours very truly,

Director.

[redacted]
[redacted] IS UNCLASSIFIED
[redacted] 3/16/79 BY 2333 Sij/gh

Instructions received from R.B.Spencer, Agent in Charge.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Pittsburgh, Pa.	May 22,1922	May 16,1922	Frank H. Kerr.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

ALEXANDER BERKMAN Radical Activities.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Pittsburgh, Pa. Office File No.257 - M.R.

This report is based on letters from Director Wm.J.Burns to Special Agent in Charge, R.B.Spencer, and by his direction I proceeded to investigate.

I called at the Jenkins Arcade in Pittsburgh and interviewed MR.FRANK TROHA in the office of the superintendent of that building, and he stated, that office #507, of said building, was now occupied and had been occupied continuously for more than two years past by Drs.Neidler and Turner.

Called at the Fifth Avenue Arcade and interviewed MR.JAMES SAWEY, who stated that the Pennsylvania Coal & Product Company is now occupying office #507, of that building, and had continuously occupied it for more than two years last past.

At the Union Arcade, I called at the office of MR.A.CALLENDER, Superintendent of that building, and interviewed assistant MR.JAMES HIGGINS, who stated that office #507 is now occupied by the Westmoreland Fuel Company and for a year last past,and prior to that time it was occupied by JACOB MARGOLIS, who was a friend of ALEXANDER BERKMAN, and BERKMAN had been seen frequently in said office of MARGOLIS in his early occupancy of the same.

61-291-90

I looked up the present location of JACOB MARGOLIS, and ascertained that his present office is at #315 Blackstone Build

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
LEO	

Pittsburgh, and is engaged in the insurance business.

The phrase of BERKMAN'S, of "JAC. M.", must have the correct interpretation by Mr.Spencer of reference to JACOB MARGOLIS, as he occupied said room at the time the phrase was doubtless made.

Case closed.

7—1169

ATTENTION of M -2

ORIGINAL

LM 1

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORTED BY:
Seattle, Wash	June 5,'22	June 5,'22	R. A. Darling

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE: EMMA GOLDMAN, ALEXANDER BERKMAN, ALEXANDER SHAPIRO Stockholm, Sweden : Anarchistic Activities

FACTS DEVELOPED:

File #15942-47-3

AT SEATTLE, WASHINGTON:

This Agent has learned from a confidential source that EMMA GOLDMAN has finally succeeded in obtaining a visa to her passport, entitling her to proceed to CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

BERKMAN and SHAPIRO have been unsuccessful in their attempts to leave SWEDEN, and while it is SHAPIRO'S desire to return to RUSSIA, his articles regarding the Soviet regime resulted in the Central Committee of the Bolshevik refusing him permission to return. BERKMAN has also been refused permission to return to RUSSIA, and is in the same position as SHAPIRO and has no place to go.

At the time these three subjects departed from RUSSIA it wa their intention to attend the INTERNATIONALE ANARCHIST CONFERENCE, which they were unsuccessful in reaching.

Investigation continued.

JUN 21 1922

61-291-91

RECORDED

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: New York; Chicago; San Francisco

7—116

Olof Beckman

61-291 - 91

15-443

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Alexander Berkman is a Russian subject and not a citizen of the United States. He was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, and is stated to be about fifty years of age. His occupation has been that of an editor and publisher. He has stated that he was single -- that his parents were dead. Prior to his arrest in June, 1917, Alexander Berkman was the publisher of "THE BLAST" a publication issued in San Francisco, several issues of which were barred from the mails because they violated section 211 of the Criminal Code which prohibits in the circulation of the mail matter intended to incite arson, murder or assassination.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 1 is a copy of a book written by Alexander Berkman in the first person, entitled: "PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST", published by the Mother Earth Publishing Association in 1912. This book contains the story of certain phases of the career of Alexander Berkman and the title "PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST" plainly refers to Berkman himself in which he designated himself as an anarchist. Particular attention is called to the following quotations found in this book:

From pp. 4 and 5 of said book I quote the following:

"I could no longer remain indifferent. The moment was urgent. The toilers of Homestead had defied the oppressor. They were awakening. But as yet the steel workers were only blindly rebellious. The vision of Anarchism alone could imbue discontent with conscious revolutionary purpose; it alone could lend wings to the aspirations of labor. The dissemination of our ideas among the proletariat of Homestead would kindle the great struggle, help to clarify the issue, and point the way to complete ultimate emancipation."

Exhibit # 7.

"My days were feverish with anxiety. The stirring call, "Labor, Awaken!" would fire the hearts of the disinherited, and inspire them to noble deeds. It would carry to the oppressed the message of the New Day, and prepare them for the approaching Social Revolution. Homestead might prove the first blush of the Glorious Dawn. How I chafed at the obstacles my project encountered! Unexpected difficulties impeded every step.. The effort to get the leaflet translated into popular English proved unavailing. It would endanger me to distribute such a fiery appeal, my friend remonstrated. Impatiently I waved aside his objections. As if personal consideration could for an instant be weighed in the scale of the great Cause! But in vain I argued and pleaded. And all the while precious moments were being wasted and new obstacles barred the way. I rushed frantically from printer to compositor, begging, imploring. None dared print the appeal. And time was fleeting. Suddenly flashed the news of the Pinkerton carnage. The world stood aghast."

"The time for speech was past. Throughout the land the toilers echoed the defiance of the men of Homestead. The steel workers had rallied bravely to the defense; the murderous Pinkertons were driven from the city. But loudly called the blood of Ma mone victims on the banks of the Monongahela. Loudly it called. It is the People calling. Ah, the People! The grand, mysterious, yet so near and real, People."

From pages 7 and 8 of said book I quote the following:

"The People - the toilers of the world, the producers - comprise to me, the universe. They alone count. The rest are parasites, who have no right to exist. But to the People belongs the earth - by right, if not in fact. To make it so in fact, all means are justifiable; nay, advisable, even to the point of taking life. The question of moral right in such matters often agitated the revolutionary circles I used to frequent. I had always taken the extreme view. The more radical the treatment, I hold, the quicker the cure. Society is a patient; sick constitutionally and functionally. Surgical treatment is often imperative. The removal of a tyrant is not merely justifiable; it is the highest duty of every true revolutionist. Human life, is, indeed, sacred and inviolate. But the killing of a tyrant, of an enemy of the People, is in no way to be considered as the taking of a life. A revolutionist would rather perish a thousand times than be guilty of what is ordinarily called murder. In truth, murder and Attentat" (An act of political assassination) are to me opposite terms. To remove a tyrant is an act of liberation, the giving of life and opportunity to an oppressed people. True, the Cause often calls upon the revolutionist to commit an unpleasant act;

but it is the test of a true revolutionist - nay, more, his pride - to sacrifice all merely human feeling at the call of the People's Cause. If the latter demand his life, so much the better."

"Could anything be nobler than to die for such a sublime Cause? Why, the very life of a true revolutionist has no other purpose, no other significance whatever, save to sacrifice it on the altar of the beloved people. And what could be higher in life than to be a true revolutionist? It is to be a man, a complete man, a being who has neither personal interests nor desires above the necessities of the Cause; one who has emancipated himself from being merely human, and has risen a over that, even to the height of conviction which excludes all doubt, all regret; in short one who in the very core of his soul feels himself revolutionist first, human afterwards.

"Such a revolutionist I feel myself to be. Indeed far more so than even the extreme radicals of my own circle. My mind reverts to a characteristic incident in connection with the poet Adelstadt. It was in New York, about the year 1890. Adelstadt, one of the tenderest of souls, was beloved by every one in our circle, the Pioneers of Liberty, the first Jewish anarchist organization in American soil."

From pages 9 and 10 of the said book I quote the following:

"No, the thorough revolutionist needs no such self-doubting reparations. For I know I do not need them. The feeling is quite impersonal, strange as it may seem. My own individuality is entirely in the background; aye, I am not conscious of any personality in matters pertaining to the Cause. I am simply a revolutionist, a terrorist by conviction, an instrument of destruction in the cause of humanity; in a word, a Bakunin. Indeed, I shall assume that name upon my arrival in Petersburg."

From page 11 of said book I quote the following:

"The horrible vision revived in my mind a similar incident, lived through in imagination before. It was the sight of an executed Nihilist. The Nihilists! How much of their precious blood has been shed, how many thousands of them line the road of Russia's suffering! Inexpressibly near and soul-kin I feel to those men and women, the adored, mysterious ones of my youth, who had left wealthy homes and high station to "go to the people", to become one with them, though despised by all whom they held dear, persecuted and ridiculed even by the benighted objects of their great sacrifice."

Webster's New International Dictionary gives the following definition for Nihilism: "(a) The doctrine that

conditions in the social organization are so bad as to make destruction desirable for its own sake, independent of any constructive program or possibility; (b) the program or doctrine of a Russian party, or succession of parties of the 19th and 20th centuries, proposing various schemes of revolutionary reform, and, in reprisal for the persecution of the Russian government, resorting to terrorism and assassination for the promotion of its ends. (c) In loose usage violent revolutionary propaganda; terrorism; anarchism."

Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary gives the following definitions of Nihilist: "(a) One who denounces existing social and political institutions; a disbeliever in all existing creeds and systems, and bent on the destruction of all; (b) a Russian anarchist; after 1878, often, a terrorist. "The Nihilists are revolutionists who would overthrow the existing state by violence. They are divided and subdivided into sects, but generally into two parties - those who would promote open revolt, and those who will resort to the assassination of obstructive officers and of the Emperor himself." J.M.Buckley "The Midnight Sun" page 356."

From Chapter IV, of said book, entitled "The Attentat", pages 33, 34 and 35, the following is quoted:

"The door of Frick's private office, to the left of the reception-room, swings open as the colored attendant emerges, and I catch a flitting glimpse of a black-bearded, well-knit figure at a table in the back of the room.

"Mistah Frick is engaged. He can't see you now, sah," the negro says, handing back my card.

I take the pasteboard, return it to my case, and walk slowly out of the reception-room. But quickly retracing my steps, I pass through the gate separating the clerks from the visitors, and, brushing the astounded attendant aside, I step into the office on the left, and find myself facing Frick.

For an instant the sunlight, streaming through the windows, dazzles me. I discern two men at the further end of the long table.

"Fr-," I begin. The look of terror on his face strikes my speechless. It is the dread of the conscious presence of death. "He understands," it flashes through my mind. With a quick motion I draw the revolver. As I raise the weapon, I see Frick clutch with both hands the arm of the chair, and attempt to rise. I aim at his head. "Perhaps he wears armor", I reflect. With a look of horror he quickly averts his face, as I pull the trigger. There is a flash, and the high-ceilinged room reverberates as with the booming of cannon. I hear a sharp, piercing cry, and see Frick on his knee, his head against the arm of the chair. I feel calm and possessed, intent upon every movement of the man. He is lying head and shoulders under the large armchair, without sound or motion. "Dead"? I wonder. I must make sure.

About twenty-five feet separate us. I take a few steps toward him, when suddenly the other man, whose presence I had quite forgotten, leaps upon me. I struggle to loose on his hold. He looks slender and small. I would not hurt him; I have no business with him. Suddenly I hear the cry, "Hunter! Help!" My heart stand still as I realize that it is Frick shouting. "Alive?" I wonder. I hurl the stranger aside and fire at the crawling figure of Frick. The man struck my hand; - I have missed! He grapples with me, and we wrestle across the room. I try to throw him, but spying an opening between his arm and body, I thrust the revolver against his side and aim at Frick, cowering behind the chair. I pull the trigger. There is a click - but no explosion! By the threat I catch the stranger still clinging to me, when suddenly something heavy strikes me on the back of the head. Sharp pains shoot through my eyes. I sink to the floor, vaguely conscious of the weapon slipping from my hands.

"Where is the hammer? Hit him, carpenter!" Confused voices ring in my ears. Painfully I strive to rise. The weight of many bodies is pressing on me. Now - it's Frick's voice! Not dead?...I crawl in the direction of the sound, dragging the struggling man with me. I must get the dagger from my pocket - I have! Repeatedly I strike with it at the legs of the man near the window. I hear Frick cry out in pain - there is much shouting and stamping - my arms are pulled and twisted, and I am lifted bodily from the floor.

Police, clerks, workmen in overalls, surround me. An officer pulls my head back by the hair, and my eyes meet Frick's. He stands in front of me, supported by several men. His face is ashen gray; the black beard is streaked with red, and blood ooozing from his neck. For an instant a strange feeling, as of shame, comes over me; but the next moment I am filled with anger at the sentiment, so unworthy of a revolutionist. With defiant hatred I look him full in the face.

"Mr. Frick, do you identify this man as your assailant?"
"Frick nods weakly."

The following is quoted from page 55 of said book:

"Not that lying is to be condemned, provided it is in the interest of the Cause. All means are justified in the war of humanity against its enemies. Indeed, the more repugnant the means, the stronger the test of one's nobility and devotion. All great revolutionists have proved that. There is no more striking example in the annals of the Russian movement than that peerless Nihilist - what was his name? Why, how peculiar that it should escape me just now! I know it so well. He undermined the Winter-Palace, beneath the very dining-room of the Tsar. What debasement, what terrible indignities he had to endure in the role of the servile, simple-minded peasant carpenter. How his proud spirit must have suffered, for weeks and months - all for the sake of his great purpose. Wonderful man! To be worthy of your comradeship."

From page 57 of this book, the following is quoted:

"To be sure, an Attentat on a Frick is in itself splendid propaganda. It combines the value of example with terroristic effect."

Following is quoted from page 58 of said book:

"As if the mere death of Frick was my object! The very thought is impossible, insulting. It outrages me that even a bourgeois should so meanly misjudge the aspirations of an active revolutionist. The insignificant reptile, Frick,- as if the mere man were worth a terroristic effort! I aimed at the many-headed hydra whose visible representative was Frick."

The following is quoted from page 59 of the book:

"But this is the first terrorist act in America. The People may fail to comprehend it thoroughly. Yet they will know that an Anarchist committed the deed. I will talk to them from the courtroom. And my comrades at liberty will use the opportunity to the utmost to shed light on the questions involved. Such a deed must draw the attention of the world. This first act of voluntary Anarchist sacrifice will make the workingmen think deeply. Perhaps even more so than the Chicago martyrdom. The latter was preeminently a lesson in capitalist justice. The culmination of a plutocratic conspiracy, the tragedy of 1887 lacked the element of the voluntary Anarchist self-sacrifice in the interests of the People. In that distinctive quality my act is initial. Perhaps it will prove the entering wedge. The leaven of growing oppression is at work. It is for us, the Anarchists, to educate labor in its great mission. Let the world learn of the misery of Homestead. The sudden thunderclap gives warning that beyond the calm horizon the storm is gathering. The lightning of social protestant"

The following is quoted from page 61 of the book:

"In vain I strove to explain to him: "I don't believe in your laws, I don't acknowledge the authority of your courts. I am innocent, morally."

The following quoted from page 67, of book in question:

"Our whole civilization, false to the core as it is, must be destroyed, to born anew. Only with the abolition of exploitation will labor gain justice. Anarchism alone can save the world."

The following is quoted from page 73 of the book:

"The Russian tyrant has frequently attempted to bait his prey with a beautiful woman. Our comrades there are careful not to associate with any woman, except of proved revolutionary character."

The following is quoted from page 91 of the book:

"I address myself to the People," I begin. "Some may wonder why I had declined a legal defense. My reasons are two fold. In the first place, I am an Anarchist. I do not believe in man made law, designed to enslave and oppress humanity. Secondly, an extraordinary phenomenon like an Attentat cannot be measured by the narrow standards of legality. It requires a view of the social background to be adequately understood. A lawyer would try to defend, or palliate, my act from the standpoint of the law. Yet the real question at issue is not a defense of myself, but rather the explanation of the deed. It is mistaken to believe me on trial. The actual defendant is Society - the system of injustice, of organized exploitation of the People."

The following is quoted from page 497 of the book:

"The very exaggeration of my self - estimate was a source of strength; I looked upon myself as a representative of a world movement; it was my duty to exemplify the spirit and dignity of the ideals it embodied. I was not a prisoner, merely; I was an Anarchist in the hands of the enemy; as such, it devolved upon me to maintain the manhood and self respect my ideals signified.

The example of the political prisoners in Russia inspired me, and my staying in the penitentiary was a continuous struggle that was the breath of life.

Was it the extreme self-consciousness of the idealist, the power of revolutionary traditions, or simply the persistent will to be? Most likely, it was the fusing of all three, that shaped my attitude in prison and kept me alive. And now, on my way to Pittsburgh I feel the same spirit within me, at the threat of the local authorities to prevent my appearance in the city. Some friends seek to persuade me to cancel my lecture there, alarmed at the police preparations to arrest me. Something might happen, they warned me: Legally I am still a prisoner out on parole. I am liable to be returned to the penitentiary, without trial, for the period of my commutation time - eight years and two months - if convicted of a felony before the expiration of my full sentence of twenty-two years.

But the menace of the enemy stirs me from apathy, and all my old revolutionary defiance is roused within me. For the first time during the tour, I feel a vital interest in life, and am eager to ascend the platform."

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 2 is a booklet entitled "TRIALS AND SPEECHES OF ALEXANDER BERKMAN AND EMMA GOLDMAN in the United States District Court in the city of New York, July 1917". This contains the speech of Alexander Berkman before the court when he was charged with obstructing the draft and upon which charge he was convicted and sentenced to two years in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 3 is a copy of "THE BLAST" dated August 18, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 17, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 4 written by Alexander Berkman entitled "VIOLENCE AND ANARCHISM". In this article it is stated:

> "Anarchism is the science of social order, as opposed to existing disorder; of brotherhood, as against present Ishmaelitism; of individual liberty and well-being, as opposed to legal oppression, robbery and universal."

In the same article the following appears:

> "Our graves will speak louder than the voices you strangle! In spite of all the strenuous governmental, capitalistic and journalistic efforts to misrepresent and suppress Anarchists and Anarchism - because of these efforts -- the people will yet learn the truth."

Attached hereto and marked Exhibit 4 is a copy of the "BLAST" dated May 1, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 12, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 thereof, entitled "TO HELL WITH THE GOVERNMENT" by Alexander Berkman. This whole article breathes with the most radical revolutionary sentiments.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 5 is a copy of the publication entitled "THE BLAST" dated February 18, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 5, and especial attention is called to the article

appearing on page 4 entitled "A WORD TO YOU" and to an article on page 6 thereof entitled "DIRECT ACTION vs. RESPECTABILITY" which is an attack upon the conservative and some policy of the American Federation of Labor.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 6 is a copy of "The Blast" for June 1, 1917, Vol. 2, No. 5, and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 entitled "TO THE YOUTH OF AMERICA", an article written by Alexander Berkman in which the following is set forth:

> "But if you know anything at all, then you should know that the cry of democracy is a lie and a snare for the unthinking. You should know that a republic is not synonymous with democracy, and that America has never been a real democracy, but that it is the vilest plutocracy on the face of the globe...."
>
> "If you are not deaf, dumb, and blind, then you know that the American bourgeois democracy and capitalistic civilization are the worst enemies of labor and progress, and that instead of protecting them, you should help to fight to destroy them."

In the same issue of "THE BLAST" appears an article entitled "WAR DICTIONARY". It is particularly illuminating to note some of the definitions contained in the so-called "War Dictionary". Mailed at the same time with this issue of "THE BLAST" was a circular letter written upon stationery of "THE BLAST" emanating from Berkman's office in which an appeal is made to the revolutionary element of this country. This letter offers to subscribers of "THE BLAST" a copy of "THE ANARCHIST'S MORALITY" by Kropotkin, the notorious anarchist writer and also the book of Bakunin entitled "GOD AND THE STATE".

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 7 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for January 15, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 1, and especial attention is called to the article on page 2 thereof, entitled "WHY THE BLAST", this article being an open admission of the doctrine of "THE BLAST" which was not only constructive but

destructive as well.

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 8 is a copy of "THE BLAST" dated January 22, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 2, and especial attention is called to an article appearing on page 7 thereof entitled "A BLAST FROM YOUNGSTOWN".

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 9 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for February 19, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 6 and particular attention is called to the article entitled "REFLECTIONS" appearing on pages 4 and 5, also to the articles on page 7 as follows: "INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE" and "A STEP TOWARDS CONSCRIPTION -- same fake".

Attached hereto and marked Exhibit 10 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for February 26, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 7 and particular attention is called to the article appearing on page 2 entitled "PATRIOTISM" in which Berkman refers to the American Flag as a "striped rag".

Attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 11 is a copy of "THE BLAST" for June 1, 1916, Vol. 1, No. 14, and particular attention is called to the article appearing therein on page 5 entitled "THE NEW STRIKE".

The publication entitled "THE BLAST" hereinbefore mentioned contains the statement that it is a revolutionary labor paper and that Alexander Berkman is the editor and publisher.

There is also attached hereto and marked Exhibit 12 a copy of a publication entitled "MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN" dated January 18, 1918, Vol. 1, No. 4, and especial attention is called to the article appearing on page 8 entitled "THE SURGEON'S

DUTY" by Alexander Berkman.

There is also attached hereto and marked as Exhibit 15 a copy of the Transcript of the Record of the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term 1917, No. 708 entitled: "EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN, plaintiffs in error, vs. THE UNITED STATES". Especial attention is called to page 511 of the Transcript upon which appears an article headed "A GAUGE OF CHANGE" by Alexander Berkman. The following is a quotation from this article:

> "Do you still ask me what the Anarchists have accomplished in the last quarter of a century? Just this: They have taught the people that violence is justified, aye, necessary in the defensive and offensive struggle of labor against capital. They have freed the public mind, to a remarkable extent, from the superstition of bourgeois morality, as is evident from the Union Square demonstration and from the numerous expressions of sympathy and encouragement we are receiving from heretofore indifferent if not unsympathetic sources."

On page 507 of the Transcript of the Record is set forth Alexander Berkman's open address contained in the edition of "MOTHER EARTH" for July 1914, Vol. 9, No. 5. In referring to the death of the three persons named in this article, Berkman makes the following statement:

> "There is another possibility, and that is that our friends had themselves prepared the infernal machine, bomb, or whatever it was. And, of course, if that is the case, then I am quite sure that they did so with the intention of using it upon the enemy. The facts so far do not prove either the one supposition or the other; but if the latter be correct, then their death as a result of a perhaps premature explosion lies at the door of that iniquitous social system of capitalism which has brought our comrades to the point where persecution, tyranny and oppression drove them to the climax of resisting by the might of dynamite. If society has forced our friends to resist oppression with violence, then capitalist society is guilty of creating the spirit which can find expression only in such violent methods. Therefore, whatever the actual facts, our comrades are either victims of capitalism or they are martyrs to the cause of labor and of humanity in general.".

On page 49 of the Transcript of the Record appears a letter written by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to the United States District Attorney, under date of June 8, 1917, in which letter the following appears:

> " * * * We hereby state in the most emphatic manner that we, the undersigned, are Anarchists and firm believers in the principles enunciated by the No-Conscription League."

As pointed out above this letter was signed by "Alexander Berkman" and "Emma Goldman" and contained the specific statement that they are anarchists of their own admission.

At the conclusion of the Berkman trial the Assistant United States Attorney advised the court of the criminal record of Alexander Berkman and referring to page 446 of the Transcript of Record it will be found that Alexander Berkman on July 23, 1892 was convicted in Pittsburgh, Pa. upon an indictment charging him with attempted murder. He was sentenced upon that conviction to serve twenty-one years in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania.

In the testimony given by Berkman in his trial in New York in 1917, he endeavored to show that he did not believe in violence but the record shows that in Pittsburgh in 1892 he went to the office of Henry C. Frick and there shot him down in cold blood and attempted to do so without giving him a chance to fight for his life.

No.R-

REPORT MADE AT:	E:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	RE
New York, N.Y.	July 14, 1922	July 13, 1922	P-132.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN - Anarchist Activities.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
JUL 18 1922
DIVISION

FACTS DEVELOPED:
At New York, N.Y.

61-2

Thursday night I met BLUMA at 10th St., between 1st and 2nd Avenues, and she informed me that SPIVAK, Treas., of the International Anarchist Aid Federation has received from A. BERKMAN, one hundred copies of a pamphlet in Russian for distribution among the Russian Anarchists in this country. So far they were not distributed and SPIVAK has them all.

JUL 20 1922

61-291-92

RECORDED

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
	Washington 2; New York 2: (Copied-VD)

7—1169

GPH.JR.

August 3,1928.

Mr. Walter C.Foster,

Box 451,

Philadelphia,Pa.

61-2-11

Dear Sir -

According to information which I have just received from the Post Office authorities, 500 copies of the first issue of the Russian Revolution Series, by Alexander Berkman, have arrived at Philadelphia for distribution in this country. I have been advised also that this publication will be granted the use of the United States mail.

I desire that you ascertain if possible to whom in this country these various copies were directed.

Yours very truly,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Sig/gw

Director.

61-291-93

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

61-291

August 10, 1922.

Dear Mr. Burns:

I have been informed that the well known radical, Emma Goldman, who was deported from the United States a year or so ago, is now seeking to enter Great Britian. In the House of Commons on July 17th the Home Secretary reported that he was not prepared to allow her to enter "as it is considered that her presence here would be undesirable."

According to the latest information Emma Goldman was in Czecho-Slovakia last month, but apparently was not to be allowed to stay there and was given permission to go to Germany for a limited visit of two months.

Very truly yours,

W. J. Burley.

William J. Burns, Esquire.
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice.

AUG 21 1922

Read by

61-291-

AUG 1 1922

Wm. J. Burns.

REPO MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
New York City	Aug. 29, 1922	Aug. 24-26, 1922	P-132.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IN RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN'S ACTIVITIES.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT NEW YORK, N.Y.

Attached is report of Informant #P*-132 for August 24-26, 1922, regarding above subject. (X) (U)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Class 6 3B 3B

3/16/79
CLASS. & EXT. BY 2333 Jaj/ghw
REASON - FOIA 1.1, 1.2, 4.2 (2)
DATE OF REVIEW 3/16/89

DECLASSIFIED BY DRK/LBS 3908
ON 8/17/79

61-291-95

RECORDED

DRK/gtt
DATE 8/20/79 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Washington 2: New York 2:

7—1100

Report of P-132 New York, August 24 - 2 ,1922.

In re: Alexander Berkman's Activities.

Comrade Murashko whom I met in the office of Americanskye Izvestia 274 E 10 Street informed [redacted] that A. Berkman has sent five hundred copies of his pamphlets to [redacted] (probably Miss Fitzgerald) and that she will distribute them for him here.

Berkman intends to publish another pamphlet [redacted] in which he will analyze the Communist movement and then show that only Anarchist Syndicalist movement is the best one for the workers. Berkman wants the Anarchist groups of this country to print his latest pamphlet serially in their respective journals and newspapers and also to help him financialy in his undertaking. In case the anarchists will not agree to help him then he will sell this work to some "capitalist" publisher.

P-132

Saturday, August 24	
carfare	10
phone	10
Friday, August 25	
carfare	10
phone	10
Saturday, August 26	
phone	5
	45

(U)

3/16/79
CLASS. & EXT. BY 2333 Baj 1/4/80
REASON - FOIM 11, 1.2.4.2 (2)
DATE OF REVIEW 3/16/87

DECLASSIFIED BY Dr/Lt 3908
ON 8/7/79

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
U-2 311.6124 Goldman, Emma

August 31, 1922.

61-291

Dear Mr. Burns:

In connection with previous correspondence relative to Emma Goldman, I enclose herewith a copy of a despatch which has recently been received from Stockholm dated July 26, 1922, relative to an open letter from William D. Haywood to Emma Goldman.

Very truly yours,

W. Hurley.

Enclosure:
From Stockholm,
No. 2385,
July 26, 1922.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
SEP 6 - 1922
DIVISION

Read by
SEP 2 - 1922
Wm. J. Burns,

SEP 14 1922

61-291-96

RECORDED

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

JUN 29 1972
XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

No. 2385. Stockholm, July 26, 1922.

Confidential State Dept
Letter of X-31-2

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith, as of possible interest to the Department, a summary of the contents of an article which appeared in the Communist "Folkets Dagblad Politiken", of July 17th, being an open letter from William D. Haywood to Emma Gold
ly published utterances against
the paper states "it has had th
its well-known American party

labor leader in the United States, who is at present active in Soviet Russia."

18778

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) IRA N. MORRIS.

Enclosure:
Summary as above described.

BP/bp

A true copy of the signed original.
F.L.

Enclosure in Despatch No. 2385, July 26, 1922.

Summary of Article in "Folkets Dagblad Politiken", dated July 17, 1922.

"The Anarchists and the Revolution of the Proletariat."

The "Politiken" has had the honor to receive the following crushing satire from our prominent American party comrade, William Haywood, now active in Soviet Russia, who is perhaps the most popular of all the labor leaders in the United States; being an open letter to the Russian-American anarchist lady, Emma Goldman, who, deported from the United States two years ago, was received with the utmost kindness in Soviet Russia, but did not remain content under the reign of the proletariat and now wants to return to the lost capitalistic paradise in the West by means of her contra-revolutionary articles.

Comfade Haywood writes in part:

"Emma Goldman's articles about Soviet Russia, recently published in the 'New York World' are false, malicious, but well suited for the purpose intended. It is Emma's desire to return to the United States where she was formerly able to obtain the good will of illiterate audiences. The people of Soviet Russia stand far above the most radical ideal Miss Goldman has ever had.

"The articles must be viewed from the point of view of their mission: a polite knocking at the doors of the United States, these doors which she states with a sigh are closed and sealed. She shows no ill feeling towards the United States though she states that this country has robbed her of home and heart but she is furious at Soviet Russia which offered her work, a home and a living. Is not her attitude

towards

towards the Soviet Government more than pure ingratitude?

"It is her egotism that has been satisfied by the printing of these articles all over the United States. She will naturally protest against such a conception of her propaganda, even if it is pointed out that no labor or socialistic organ have deemed her articles worthy of repitition even partially. The fact is that the majority of the workers of the United States are and desire to be loyal to the Soviet and the revolution in Russia, not to mention the fact that Emma Goldman has relied upon Samuel Gompers whose abnormal thinking power has never given birth to a constructive thought or a radical idea.

"Miss Goldman made a mistake when she printed the articles in the 'World', and she has begun to fall - when a woman falls there are no limits to which she cannot go. No doubt similar articles will be flowing from her pen, that instrument with which she tries to open the locks of the doors closed to her, though every word she writes will condemn her in the opinion of former friends as they know she was made welcome when she came to Russia and given an influential post by the Soviet Government. She was given a private car and assistants and instructed to collect relics and documents for a museum established by the Soviet for the purpose of perpetuating the history of the revolution. That this important work failed depended either upon her incapability or the loss of understanding and willingness to cooperate. She has her own methods. Unlike the Ibsen character she mentions who loosened the knot and straightened out the whole affair, she presented a tangle much worse than when she began her work of unravelling.

For

For example, after elaborating on how indecent it was for Russia to fire a brand that might have set the world on fire just at the moment when war profits were largest and the imperialists were sure of victory, she goes on to explain that the revolution was doomed from its very inception, as it was not able to counteract the great world massacre. She further remarks that it was the Marxian policy of the Bolsheviks, which at first seemed to be the only strength of the revolution, that finally brought about its downfall. But not satisfied with this, which she must have known was untrue the same moment that she wrote it down, she adds that the contra-revolutionists, right social-revolutionists, cadets and mensheviks were the undermining factors of the Russian revolution. And in truth she could have added the anarchists and bandit leaders, of whom Emma Goldman seems to be a devoted follower. In her condemnation of the Brest-Litovsk treaty she ignores the real historical facts and builds up her argument on her own sentimental theories. She employs tactics of her own. In New York she harangues against capitalism; then she goes to Moscow and there begins to fight against the 'treachery' of the Soviet republic, and finally strolls back again into the capitalistic trap.

"It is curious that she did not begin to attack Soviet Russia before she left America. But perhaps she knew what the 'Tcheca' is in Russia and thought it advisable to regard 'silence as gold' as her collections consisted mostly of copper and silver.

"Fighting against the Soviet Government seems to afford Emma Goldman considerable pleasure. She was never at

heart

heart in sympathy with the Bolshevik revolution. Forced to leave the United States, she went to Russia as there was no other place for her to go. It is not her friends who have made her impossible. She has sealed her own doom."

---0---

Instructions rec'd from Agent in Charge W. G. Walker

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Washington, DC	9-8-22	9-6-22	J.T.Flourney

18783 61-24

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

Re: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION [illegible]S — Alleged Radical Publication by Alexander Berkman

FACTS DEVELOPED:

Washington, DC — File 4112

ATTENTION MR. HOOVER

Read by SEP 11 1922 Wm. J. Burns

SEP 14 1922 — SEC. INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

Agent called at 1817 Kenyon Street, the residence of Lillian Kisliuk (Mrs. Israel Dinowitzer) and ascertained that she was out of the city and probably would not return for several months.

Agent, assisted by Agent Stowell, of this office, made inquiries at the radical bookstore of Abraham Ravitch, 1303-7th Street, N.W., and was informed by Ravitch that he did not have the book in stock, but that he had heard of the publication and would secure a copy for Agent. Agent again called at this address after one week and found that Ravitch had only one copy, which Agent purchased, paying 25¢ for same. This copy Agent attaches to the original of this report.

Agent made inquiries at a number of other bookstores in this city usually handling radical literature and none of them [illegible] the publication.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3-16-77 BY 2313

The copy attached to the origin[illegible] this report is seemingly Number 1 and in a "foreword" Berkman explains that the booklet was originally published in the Dutch language and that upon suggestion to him by a Holland critic he decided to issue a translated edition to include the result of his two years' study and observation after being deported to Russia. Agent will continue

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FILE NO. 61-24-97

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION SEP 11 1922 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECORDED SEP 13 1922

ROUTED TO: HOOVER

REFERENCE:	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
GFR 8-30	Wash. 3; Office 1.

JTF:R

investigation in this matter and procure additional copies of the publication in case the same appears again.

Agent notices that the authorized sales agents for the publication is given on the back cover page as follows:

Max N. Maisel, Bookstore, 424 Grand St., New York, N.Y.
Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 48 Canal St., New York, N.Y.
Lillian Kisliuk, 1817 Kenyon St., Washington, D.C.
Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston St., London, N.W. I. England.

CLOSED.

Department of State

[redacted]

ENCLOSURE

TO

[redacted] dated

ADDRESSED TO

William J. Burns, Esq.

[redacted] 1—1083

ATTENTION: MR. HOOVER-#2 L.A.FILE # 180/10

Los Angeles,Cal:: Oct.5th,1922. :: Oct.5th. :: A.A. HOPKINS:/MP

O ALEXANDER BERKMAN:::- Berlin, Germany. ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES

61-291

At Los Angeles,Cal.-

Reference is made to report re: JOSEPH SPIVAK, et al., ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES, - by Agent, at Los Angeles,Cal., this date:

The following late correspondence from ALEXANDER BERKMAN is taken from among the papers of JOSEPH SPIVAK at 220 Brooklyn Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., October 4th, 1922.

"28 Grove Street

New York, November 4, 1919.

61-291-78

Miss Mania Abramofsky
c/o Jacklowitz
1342 Clinton Ave.
Bronx

4779

Dear Mania:

First of all I feel that I ought to apologize to you. I am afraid I hurt you the last time I saw you; I was in a bad humor and very impatient with you. It was not your fault, but my own; I had had a very unpleasant experience just a few minutes before I came home and found you; I was not in a condition to see anyone. I hope you will forgive me.

In reference to Adolph S. Rose Baron told me that he is out on bail long ago. I have just written a little letter to him to get the correct information. I have the feeling that, owing to my confused state of mind, when you talked to me on this matter, I did not fully understand your request.

I do not know where I could secure bail for anyone,except by seeing Alex C. and it seems impossible to find him. I have been looking for him now, in vain, for several days. Of course, I could not ask bail for anyone I don't know or for one whom the parties do not know that are to give bail. If you will write me a note to explain this whole thing, I should be glad.

Let me hear from you soon,

Yours (Signed) Sasha.

BS&AU
12646"

WASHINGTON -3. NEW YORK-1 SAN FCO.1 CHICAGO-1

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN

"Berlin, May 26 4780

My dear little Manya:

I started to write a letter to you sometime ago, but then some business interfered, and I could not get back at it till now.

I received your good letter of April 7th, though it took a good time to reach me here. As you see, I am now in Berlin, and the mail had to be forwarded to me.

You certainly can bet your bottom dollar that I have not forgotten my old friends, nor you in particular. I have a good emotional memory, you see. I am very sorry indeed to hear that you are not in good health. The South Calif. climate surely ought to do you some good. I hope you will keep in touch with me, so that I may be informed how you are getting along.

I am glad to hear that the local group is trying to carry on propaganda. If they are publishing the Bourevestnick, please see to it that a copy is sent to me regularly, at the address at the bottom of my letter. You used to be a very effective-worker, and I hope that your health will permit you to be active. More energetic propaganda is necessary now than ever before. I have no use for people who are always on the verge of pessimism. True, the Russian experience is a terrible disillusionment, but it served a great purpose; it has practically demonstrated the truth of our theoretic claims. Namely, the menace of State Socialism and Marxism. These are bankrupt now, and thus the road is open for OUR ideas, principles and methods.

Never before was our propaganda more necessary, nor was there ever a better field for it, if we go at it in the proper manner.

I suppose you have read my articles in the Freie A. Stimme. They have been published by all of our Anarchist press in every language. Now I am preparing to issue a series of pamphlets, popularly written. The Series may have 8 - 12 pamphlets, which will deal with all the phases of the R. Revolution, and give a constructive analysis of the ideas and lessons involved. I am publishing already the first pamphlet here, in English, and will soon be ready to send it over to America. The first is called: THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY: a General Review, 1917-1922.

I hope that you and our other friends, in L.A., will be interested in the distribution of these pamphlets. For the distribution is really the most important part of the work. It is no use writing, unless the comrades will see to it that the pamphlets are read, especially by the workers. I hope you will take this matte

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

up with our people there. I used to have many friends in L.A., and all ~~with~~ through Calif., but now I don't have any addresses, except your own.

I will send you a little bundle of my first pamphlet, but meanwhile talk the matter over with the comrades and let them decide how many they could handle. Let me know about this as soon as possible, so we lose no time. It is over 32 pages, this first pamphlet, and I've put the price of 10 cents on it. I have of course considerable expense on it, printing, mailing, etc., and I expect that the group, or individual comrades, may contribute toward the expense. Perhaps the group would take say 200 copies for sale and distribution, and advance me some money on them, because I could not wait tell those pamphlets are sold. Or let the group take 500 and pay in advance for half of it, so that I can go on with further work. Well, I guess I can leave it to you and to the other comrades. But I must hear from you at once, so I will know what orders to expect, how much to print of the next pamphlet, etc., My general agent for U.S. will be Fitzie.

The next pamphlet, which is ready now for the printer, will be a very thorough pamphlet called, The Russian Revolution, and the Communist Party. It will be 64 or more pages, and will have to be sold for 15 or 20 cents. But I have no money to publish it with.

The Bolshevik Superstition is sweeping America just now, but take courage. Two or three years ago the War and Wilson Craze swept the country, and such great revolutionists as Max Eastman and Yanovsky stood up for Wilson and the war for Democracy. They ridiculed us for remaining true to our ideals. Well, it is only a short time ago, but now they are all of the same opinion that we propagated three years ago.

It will be the same with this Bolshevik Delusion. Let them shout Traitor, etc., at us. We shall remain true in the future as we have been in the past 35 years. And just watch them, in a year or two the American great Bolshevik champions will again turn tail, and they will reach the understanding that WE were right, as we have been about the War. We alone do not permit ourselves to be swept off our feet by every FAD in Socialism. Well, th will change in this as they have changed their colors many ti in the last years, these Eastmans etc. And in a couple of yea or may be sooner, they will holler against the Bolsheviki, as hollered against Wilson after they opened their eyes to the facts

Have courage, Comrades, the Future belongs to us, and Histor will prove US right. That is the ONLY thing to be concerned a We build not for the moment, but for the coming generations.

RE:"ALEXANDER BERKMAN"

Fraternally, with greetings to all comrades.

And you, dear Manya, take good care of yourself, and write me soon. Do you remember those days in the office in N.Y., when you used to come up to help me in the work? I often think of that happy time, for now life is more gray and less interesting than in those glorious activities of anti-war agitation, the Mooney case, etc., etc.

Affectionately, your old friend and comrade

Sasha

Papers and letters to be addressed to me thus:

F. Kater
Kopernikusstr. 25, II
Berlin, O. 34
Germany.

DO NOT mention any other names, either on the envelope or in the letters. Just put on the envelope, and I will get it all right. You can also use a double envelope, and put Sasha on the inside envelope. But no other name, you understand. Tell the comrades the same thing. It's important.

P.S. You did not send me your address.
I will mail this to Spir. "

"Berlin, Sept. 4

My dear Spivak:

Today received your letter, registered, of the 16 of August. Glad to hear from you. Also found in your letter enclosed check for 9,000. German marks. Now, my dear Spivak, what is wrong with you people that you insist on sending me MARKS? Others do the same thing, although I have repeatedly written to the comrades to send ONLY dollars. Don't you know that dollars are good all over the world? And the mark is falling, so that I am losing as much on your check as the amount of the check. You can get 200p marks here for the dollar. You meant to send me $10.80. I would get for it here over 20,000 marks. Yet you got only 9,000 marks. So you see how much I lose on your check, and I really can't afford it.

(RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN)

Let it be understood then for the future, and also tell the comrades: NO MARKS should be sent here. Send ONLY American money. Send it per American Express Co., Travelling Cheques, with the proviso that it be PAID IN AMERICAN MONEY. Make your American Express Co. Cheques payable to

A. SCHMIDT-BERGMANN.

Notice the spelling of that name, and follow it.

Now, I appreciate it that you and Manya are helping to spread the pamphlet. As to the Feder, in N.Y., I expect little from them in this direction. They criticised E. for publishing her articles in the World, and they wrote then that they could give her articles good circulation by their own efforts. Well, I did not want my articles published in the World (I had good offers from it). I published my views in that pamphlet, but the Federation wrote me that they "will see" what can be done about the pamphlets. That was long ago, and I have not heard anything about them since.

On the other hand, I see some N.Y., Anarchist group has published an idiotic thing in the Volna, in re E.G. They instructed the Feder. delegate not to send help to the Russ. An. in prison--because E.G. is a member of the Committee for that help. What do you think of such "comrades"? They will ~~ppus~~ punish our comrades in Russian prisons, because they don't like E.G.'s publishing her articles in the World. Besides, the whole thing is simply the brain storm of some cretine. E.G. is NOT a member of the Society to Aid the R.An. in Prisons, nor is she a member of ANY Committee.

Then the Federation asks me to give an account of the monies collected for Russia. I wrote to them politely to go to hell. When the time comes for an account I shall do so without the request of anybody. Secondly, the account of monies received must come from the BRAND. All monies are sent to them (the Stockholm paper) and they have already published one account some time ago. I'll tell you, dear Spivak, our so- called comrades make me sick. I haven't time nor stamps to reply to all the idiotic and insulting questions and demands of those idiots. This letter is private, for your own information.

Well, I was foolish to expect our comrades (with some exceptions, of course,) to really be helpful in the matter of the pamphlets. They can talk big, but when it comes to work, they have many excuses.

(RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN)

And now I am stuck, because I depended on them. My second pamphlet is already published, and the third also written. But I can't pay the printer even for the first. No one has yet sent any money for the first pamphlet. Except one or two comrades, including yourself. What is the use of printing pamphlets; they probably lie around there in the Federation, etc. And if they have been circulated, then why don't the comrades pay for them? I am sure I don't want to make any money on the pamphlets. But I must pay the printer, mustn't I?

Well, I am not sending out my second pamphlet till I will get an account of the first one. I'll tell you, it is not easy to discourage me, but you dear comrades have gotten my goat. If another month passes with as little result as I got so far, I shall quit publishing pamphlets. I'll begin to write my book on Russia and I'll sell it to some publishing firm, of course. For if I should want to depend with my BOOK on comrades, the Social Revolution will be here before they will wake up to the necessity of circulating such works.

You advise me to send the pamphlets DIRECTLY. I DID SO.

I sent:

Enriquo F. Magon, 1120 E. 28th St. LOS ANGELES 25 copies

Perry McCollough, Box 937 R.F.D., 6 " " 200 "

(a good friend of mine; please write him and go to see him, as he can't spread the pamphlets himself. He is a sick man. The other day I received letter from him with $5. on account of pamphlets.)

N. Melinsky, 1089 Pine St. San Francisco - 50 copies

A. Gariboldi,601 North Spring St. Los Angeles, 50 copies

Please see these people, and find out what they did with the pamphlets. I am giving you above also Melinsky's address in San Francisco, please get in touch with him.

Let me know when you want me to send you the second pamphlet. I rely on you and Manya in Los Ang. and I hope you can also wake the fellows up in San Francisco. I used to have many friends there, but absence is hell,,,,,,,

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN)

"I don't want the groups or comrades to ADVANCE me any money for pamphlets or for anything else. I don't want to be under obligations to ANYONE. All I ask them is to help spread the truth about Russia, and I think I have a right to ask that of comrades. And if they get and sell pamphlets, I expect them to pay for them, for I must pay the printer and postage, etc.

As to news from Russia, they are terrible. I have just published the enclosed Appeal (Archangel letter). I am sending out copies of it, and also a number to you. Have them published wherever possible. There is to be a trial of various Anarchist in Russia. - same political trick as Soc. Rev. trial. Rubinchik, A. Baron, etc., to be tried.

(Sgd) Geekrs S (?)"

"Berlin, Sept.7th, 1922

My dear Friend:-

At last I received the first letter from you, dated August 17th, and you may feel sure that I was very pleased to hear from you. I have written to you several times, and I have been wondering why I do not hear from you. A few days ago I wrote to Spivak and in th letter to him I enclosed also a letter for you.

Your letter pleased me very much and I see that you have not forgotten the good old days in our New York office, where you used to help so much with the work. I am sorry to hear that you are not well, but I hope that the Los Angeles climate will put you on your feet again. I know from before that you are a very good worker, and if you were quite well and took charge of the distribution of my pamphlets in California, then I am sure it would be a success. Together with Spivak you should certainly be able to get in touch with the different comrades in Los Angeles and San Francisco and with those in the neighborhood towns. I shall enclose here a number of addresses, and it would be well if you would communicate with them. With some of them I am also in touch.

As concerns the Magons, there are two brothers, Ricardo and Enrique. Ricardo is in prison, but Enrique is out a considerable time and I believe he lives in Los Angeles. You should have no difficulty in finding his address. I sent him twenty-five copies of my pamphlet, but I have not heard from him and I do not know whether he received them. Here is the address to which I sent them -

RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN--

"Enrique Flores Magon,
1120 East 28th St.,
Los Angeles, Calif.

I wish dear friend that you would go over there and see if Magon really lives there and if the pamphlets were received.

I dictated the above. Now I shall continue myself, and onmy own machine. Dear girl, I often think of those days when we were absorbed in the heat of propaganda work in N.Y., with many comrades about us, and full of life and energy to work for our ideas. Where is that spirit now? How many of our people have remained staunch and true to their ideals? As for myself I feel as full of life and energy as ever, but I am away from friends and comrades and I lead a rather hunted dog's life. However, I am still on deck. I think NOW is just the time to work for our ideals. Marxism and State Socialism have become bankrupt, and intelligent people all over the world are coming to realize it. That is the great and very valuable lesson of the Russian Revolution. We always knew and always said that State Socialism would prove the most dangerous enemy of liberty. But that was mere theory. Now the Russian Revolution proved our theory CORRECT in every way. That should give us hope and faith and greater strength to continue our work. The difficulties are great and man's stupidity is hard to dislodge. But that means that our exertions must be the greater. If only some of our people had better sense and would not hurt our work by their pettiness and foolishness. But that too must be put up with, and ever must our motto be, Always Forward, forward, never to lose courage and to work and work.

Well, dear friend, enough for today. I hope to hear from you soon. Write me often - I like to hear from you. And I know that you and Spivak and the other good comrades there will continue to work for our ideas. First of all we must expose the menace of Bolshevism, make the people see what they and their Marxism and terrorism have done to the Russian Revolution, and then we must bring home to them our ideas and our methods and teach them the ONLY way to Liberty, and that is THROUGH Liberty and libertarian methods. That is the work I have in view: a series of pamphlets on the various phases of the Russian Revolution; then pamphlets on the Bolshevik theories and practices; then on Anarchism, Free Communism, Anarcho-Syndicalism, etc. I HOPE THAT MY COMRADES WILL COOPERATE with me in these plans. Without them I cannot carry my plans out, for I can myself write and publish the pamphlets; but their spreading is up to the comrades. Of course, I ask only those to cooperate who agree with my ideas and views and who want to advance the ideas of Anarchism.

Well, I must close and get back to work. Such letters as this one take me back to the old days in N.Y., and that is not good for my work. We got to live in the present and for the future. The past must bury its dead.

(RE: ALEXANDER BERKMAN)

"By the way, I repeat what I wrote in last letter: NEVER SEND ME GERMAN MARKS. Only American money should be sent. Send it per American Express Co. Travellers Cheques, to BE PAID HERE IN AMERICAN MONEY.

Make such cheques payable to F. Kater, but mail them to me.

Yes, dear Spivak, I have also heard from Millie, and other comrades in Petrograd. The packages were received. Have the Federation send money, if possible, We have many prisoners, especially in Archangel.

Enclosed Appeal in re: Archangel. Terrible conditions, worse than under Nicholas. Give it the widest possible publicity. Print it in capitalist papers, if possible. LET THE WHOLE TRUTH BE KNOWN. I consider the Bolsheviki A GREATER DANGER THAN THE TSAR, and no consideration is due them. It were a betrayal of the people and of the Revolution if we were to hide the truth.

My best greetings to you, dear Manya, and to you Spivak and to all good friends.

Yours as ever, "

"My dear, dear Friend Manya:

Sometime I wrote to you. Not having your address I sent it on to Fitzie to send to Spivak. I have since been informed that the letter was sent to S., but the latter now tells me he never received it. I am very sorry, for I said several things in that letter to which I wanted a reply to you. Well, such are our mails, and I have a lot of trouble about it.

I was very sorry to hear that you are not feeling well. The wonderful Los Angeles sunshine, however, ought to do you a world of good, I hope. I should like to hear from you, and write me soon and all about yourself. How is life in Los A? You know, I spent several months there in 1915 and I had made many friends. I don't know where they are now, but probably you will come across some of them. In that case tell them that I have not forgotten. Only I don't know how to get in touch with them. But I should be pleased if they will write me.

But REMEMBER: the address I am sending here is ONLY for you and Spivak. Our people are often careless, and they put on the WRONG name, you understand. Therefore give NO ONE this address. Let people write to me care of Fitzie, and the mail will

be forwarded. You can give people F's address: 45 Grove St.

This time I am writing to you a short letter, but I hope it will reach you. As soon as I hear from you I shall write at length.

Meanwhile, best greetings to you, and please write soon.

Yours as ever before

(Sgd) Sasha"

"Enrique F. Magon, 1120 East 28 St., Los Angeles

Jules Scarceriaux, 2111 Gaynor Ave., RICHMOND, Cal.

Rebecca Raney, 1539 Clay St., San Francisco, Cal.

Dora T. Israel, R.F.D., Alta Mesa Road,
Mountain View, Cal.

Perry McCollough, Box 937, R.F.D., 6, Los Angeles

N.Melinsky, 1089 Pine St., San Francisco.

A. Gariboldi, 601 North Spring St., Los Angeles.

That is all I have in the State of Cal."

"Dear Manya, it is a long time I am waiting for your reply. I hope you are improving in the Los Angeles air. By the way, it seems Spivak failed to receive a long letter I sent to him, to Los Ang. about a month ago.

Write me soon, tell me about yourself and what is doing there. We used to have good friends and comrades in Los A. I don't know where they all are now. The passage of time, the war, and the Bolshevik fake has alienated most comrades from us. Damned few people can stand on their feet and not be swept off by every blast of political wind.

It is along time I have not seen you. Would love to have a talk with you, but that is a vain wish. You will remain there, and I don't intend to return to the States, not even if I could. Some

day I shall return to Russia, for I believe there is a good field for propaganda there. But not till I have first done the wrok I want to do, for once back in R., I shall not be able to do it.

Otherwise life is quiet. Am working mostly, helping with Syndicalist work, then my pamphlets, also beginning soon on MY diary, which I kept in Russia all the time I was there. Then I want to write a book on Russia and my experiences there, etc. Enough work on hand, if one only got the time for it all.

Well, deal girl, be good, get well, and write to me when the spirit moves you.

Yours as ever

S."

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ATTENTION: MR. HOOVER--#2. L.A. File #180/10

Los Angeles, Cal. :: Oct. 5th, 1922:: Oct. 5th: A.A. HOPKINS: /MP

EMMA GOLDMAN ----- STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN. :ANARCHIST :ACTIVITIES.

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61-291

At Los Angeles, Cal.-

Reference is made to report re: JOSEPH SPIVAK, et al., ANARCHIST ACTIVITIES, by Agent, at Los Angeles, Cal., this date :

The following letter from EMMA GOLDMAN was taken from among the papers of JOSEPH SPIVAK at 2906 Brooklyn Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., October 4th, 1922.

99

"New York, March 6, 1922

Dear Comrad Emma.

No doubt you have received our cable in which we urged you to cancel the publication of your articles in the N.Y. World. We know that before you agreed to write for the N.Y. World you have consulted some of your American friends. Those friends, however, who used their influence to have you taken such a step, are not in close connection with the movement and have conveyed a wrong impression as to the stand that the American comrades will take upon this question. Also the possibilities of giving the story a wide publicity and circulation.

We claim that, by printing your story in a pamphlet form, we could reach a circulation that no other news paper could do.

We are an organization consisting at present of 15 groups, including Russian, Jewish, Italian, English and Spanish speaking groups, We feel that we can easily print your story in thousands of copies in each language, and thus circulate among the public the truth about Russia.

It is not the number of copies that a certain story is printed that counts, it is the chanels through which it is printed that count, that has the power to make the reader believe or disbelieve in these stories.

We wish to make it clear, that, it is not your own personality which will probably suffer, that concerns us. Your personality is your own concern. It is the Anarchist

WASHINGTON -3; SAN FCO.1 NEW YORK-1 CHICAGO-1 FILE-2;

cause, the cause of the Russian prisoners which will suffer as a result of this step, because the people will lose confidence in you. That is what concerns us, and which we would wish to avoid.

We can see from your letter to a certain individual, that, you have carefully considered everything before you decided to take such a step, and it is only through miss-judging the possibility of giving your story a wide publicity through Anarchist chanels, that you have made such a step.

You and Sasha were practically the first, in whom we have confidence, who called our attention to the conditions of the Anarchists in Russia and that aid is urgently needed. You are aware of the fact that we can't seek any aid among the capitalist thinking opponents of the Russian government.

They may be enemies of the Bolsheviki, but are in a still higher degree enemies of the Anarchists, and will never have any sympathy for them. We therefore, have to seek aid among the more radical workers, who believe in the Russian government and who know nothing about what is really going on there. In order to gain the support of these elements it is first necessary to tell them about the conditions as they exist in Russia, and to make them believe in these facts.

This task, however, is a very hard one, it is not so easy, for one who has been told during the past three years, that, the Russian Government is fighting for freedom of the world, to make him believe that, this very same government commits all the crimes which you and other Russian refugees have ascribed to them.

It is not so easy to take from one away his "god." The Bolsheviki were the God of the radical workers and even of most of the Anarchists. They will resist any attempt to take this "god" away from them. They will try to find dishonesty in any thing that will be told about Russia, and it is for us to present these facts to them in such a manner, through such channels, that no impurity, nothing that can throw a shadow of prejudice or dishonesty shall be possible.

The appearance of your articles in a capitalist publication, a publication that was always a friend of counter-revolution, will, like the followers of the Bolsheviki, the strongest weapon to discredit the contents. These articles will not only not accomplish their aim, but will have a counter effect upon the worshipers of the Soviet Government. It is true, they will reach thousands of "readers", but it is not the capitalist opponents of the Bolsheviki that we want to reach. We wish to reach every radical worker, especially the followers of the

61- [illegible]

(RE: EMMA GOLDMAN)

Bolsheviki and THEY DO NOT BELIEVE IN WHAT IS PRINTED IN THE N.Y.WORLD. TO THEM ANY ONE WHO IS BEING PAID FOR WRITING FOR THE N.Y.WORLD IS A TRAITOR AND CAN'T BE BELIEVED.

The appeal for Russia, which was signed by You, Sasha and Shapiro has had a wonderful effect upon the workers. It acted upon the minds of the workers as a good antidote to the Bolshevik Anaestetic.

The workers believe you because they know you and they know the F.A.S. and the other Anarchist publications where that appeal was printed. The workers began to open their eyes to the truth. They did not like this truth, but they had no way how to discredit same. We have immediately organized the international An. Aid Federation and our work is very promising. We are however, sure that, as soon as your first article will appear in the N.Y.World it will discredit anything told against the Russian government and we will have to give up our work. Not only this, it will injure the movement for many years to come.

We are certain that there is nothing behind your move, other than the interests of the Anarchist cause; you have, however, never referred to the active groups for advice, as to how your story can best be circulated. You have left this matter to one who is not in the movement, is not connected with any one who is active has not consulted anyone who is active in the movement. And based upon the information obtained from this person, you have made your decision.

We are certain, that if you would have referred direct to the groups, we would have shown you a better way how to bring the truth about Russia to the people.

We know, that the cause of Anarchism, the cause of the Anarchists in Russian prisons is dear to you, and in the name of this cause, we urge you to cancel the publication of the articles in the N.Y.World.

Yours for freedom of mankind,

International Anarchist Aid Federation,

Sec' y."

A. A. HOPKINS: Oct. 5, 1928..

(RE: EMMA GOLDMAN)

"Stockholm, March 25th, 1922.

"International Anarchist Aid Federation
New York City.

Dear Comrades.

Your cable of two weeks ago reached me safely,. Your letter of the 6th inst. arrived yesterday. Thank you for both. I appreciate your concern in our movement and in the work you have undertaken, to raise funds for our imprisoned comrades in Russia. I should indeed be sorry if my appearance in the World would interfere with your work, yet I can not possibly comply with your request to cancel my articles in the World, - and that for the following reasons.

First, I did not know that there were "active Anarchist groups" in America. I did know that that reaction was rampant in the states and that everything had been suppressed, except of course, the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. I did not even know of the existence of Free Society, a very fine little paper I must say, but one which is published irregularly and probably has a small circulation, hence I could not consider it as a medium of reaching the American workers on a large scale. It is not more than a month or so that I saw the first copy of Free Society. In other words, I knew there was no Anarchist paper in the English language of any consequence through which I might be heard on the Russian situation. I have already said I knew nothing of your existence. There remained the Freie Ar. St., the Liberal Press or the World. The Freie Arb St. is of importance in the Jewish movement. I do not depreciate its value but while I consider the Jewish propaganda and the propaganda in all foreign languages important, I do not think it important enough to concentrate only on them.

The Liberal press was tried, in fact I was willing to let my articles go into the Liberal papers free of charge, but they proved themselves so illiberal that they would not take my articles. The Liberals have always been more cowardly than the Conservatives; they are afraid of my name and of Anarchism. In other words, I had to either be silent on the Russian situation, or appear in the World. And as I consider silence on Russia the greatest betrayal against the workers in Russia and the rest of the world I have decided upon the W.

You say that I have never referred to the active groups for advice as to how my articles can best be circulated. How could I refer to something I did not know existed? The fault for that,

dear comrades rests with you and not with me. For two years I have been cut off from the Anarchist movement. Did the "active groups" take any trouble to get into touch with me? Did they make any attempt to learn of my life and struggle of the two years in Russia? As far as these groups are concerned I might have been in the Tcheka, or died of typhos, or starved to death. Never a word of concern or comradeship did I get from these groups during the two years.

Now you may say and not without some justice, that it was difficult to get into touch with Russia. Still, other people have, why not your "active groups"? The very person you so contemptiously refer to, my niece was able to get in touch with me. But for her devotion and care, I might have been compelled as so many others in Russia, to prostitute my ideas and ideals in the service of the Bolshevik state; however, I will grant that you could not reach me while I was in Russia. What about the time since I am out of Russia? It is nearly four months since we reached Europe, three months since our joint appeal appeared. Why did the "active groups" fail to get in touch with me? Why did they not show some solidarity, some interest in the place possibility of my existence, the struggle I am making to find a place to live and breath? The answer for that you yourself have given in your letter. You say "It is not your personality which will probably suffer that concerned us" Precisely, the personality of E G may be kicked about from pillar to post, the door of the whole world may be slammed in her face and she be compelled to hide and seek for a refuge, the personality of E.G. may suffer want or be otherwise in distress and misunderstood. All that does not concern your groups. All that they are concerned in is how much E.G.'S name and ability can be used for the "cause" which these groups have chosen as theirs and which they consider important above all human values. Woe to us if we dare to go our way because we are convinced of the logic or justice of our actions, the active groups will be the first to condemn and discredit us even if we have been at their back and call all our lives. There is nothing new in that. The thing which interests me is the fact that you, dear comrades, though you call yourself anarchists, yet express the same fanatical precepts of the Bolsheviks, the individual and personality are of no consequence; indeed, both may be crushed for the sake of the "cause". Only you call your "cause" Anarchism; they call it the State. But in the ultimate both are the same..

Frankly that is not my idea of Anarchism., nor do I consider any "cause" superior to personality and the individual.

(RE: EMMA GOLDMAN)

I never have, nor will I ever consent to serve as a means to an end, even if that end actually be Anarchism, for I know, and Russia has only strengthened me in my knowledge that any "cause" which is willing to show disregard for personality ends by enslaving not only the one but the many.

As a matter of fact this is not really the reason why I have failed to turn for advice to the active groups. I did not do so because I did not know of your existence. I may also say that my 32 years in the movement have not made me very enthusiastic about the efficiency of these groups to handle an important situation, which should be brought to the notice of large groups of people. Still if you had appraised me in time of what you can and are willing to do, I should no doubt have refused the offer of the World, but you made yourself known too late.

It is hardly necessary to reply to your charge that I have been influenced by my American friends, if you knew me better you would have realized that E.G. is not so easily influenced. But while it is true that I have not consulted the active groups in America I have consulted some of our most unimpeachable comrades in the movement, among them Harry Kelly, Rudolf Rocker, Malatesta, Nettlau, the comrades of the London Freedom group, dependable comrades in Paris and in this City. Their unanimous advice was "accept the offer of the World because it is of the utmost importance that your voice on Russia should be heard by all America" Perhaps if these comrades had known that there are active groups who can spread my story broadcast, they would not have been so emphatic in their urge though I rather think that would have made no difference. See the advice of Freedom for instance, - why would it not have preferred to have the exclusive possibility to bring my articles? But our comrades of Freedom are too broad minded not to see the value of reaching the mass and not only its hand full of readers, hence, they too urged that I appear in the W. So you see dear comrades, I have consulted those whose opinions I value and who have remained true to their ideas all their lives. I again repeat if I did not consult you, it is not because I would not have valued your opinion, but because I never heard of your groups until your cable came and when my attention was called to your ad in the Frei Arb. St.

Besides, you say yourself that you have only recently organized and for the purpose of raising funds for our imprisoned comrades in Russia. Now I think that is a very worthy purpose, but it is not the only purpose in the Anarchist movement. Above all, money is not the only thing which can help our comrades in Russia. There is something else, something that might compell the Bolshevik government to let up in its cruelly despotic methods of persecution. A year ago anything said in the revolutionary press might have had been that something I have in mind. Today the Bolsheviki give a

RE:
EMMA GOLDMAN--

damn for the opinions of the revolutionary workers, or the revolutionary press. They are, however, keenly sensitive to the criticism that appears in any of the important Metropolitan papers, because that effects large masses of workers for whose support they are now clamouring. If for no other reason this alone is enough to appear in the W.

As to what the Bolsheviki will say, I have considered that, But I have never cared what our enemies will say. I thought as Anarchists we must be concerned only in the truth and justice of our position and then defy the whole world for its sake. At least I have always acted in that way, why do you expect me to pay attention to what the Bolsheviki will say? Then too it matters not where my articles would appear, the Bolsheviki will hurl their anathema against me anyway. They have already started directly, my article appeared in Freedom and as soon as our joint appeal was published. No, I can not consider them or their blind followers. People who are so obsessed as the Communists and Anarchists who are under the Communists hypnotism can not be convinced not just yet anyhow. And the rest of the workers will judge my articles by their merit. I hope so anyway, And I hope with all my heart that you dear comrades too will judge my work on its merits. I Can not believe that you are so bigoted and so sectarian that you will condemn me after you have read my preface and the articles. Whatever else you may think or feel, I am convinced that you will not say I have compromised one single iota of my ideas, or that I have been prompted by other than the one deep burning desire to shed light on the terrible betrayal of the Russian Revolution, and the Russian people by the Bolsheviki government. But if you will judge me lightly, I shall have to stand it, as I have on more than one occasion born with the misunderstanding of friends and enemies alike. That will in no way interfer with my interest in your work and with my desire to help you all I can, if you will permit me to do so without denying what I consider most vital to my own integrity.

One of the stipulations with the W. is that my articles be released for the use of the Anarchist press. The comrades here will publish all of it in pamphlat form, so will the comrades of Holland and no doubt of most countries. If after you have read the stories you feel that you would like to publish the material in pamphlets, I should be very glad. If not, it is my intention of having pamphlets published and circulated freely in America, Canada and England.

Fraternally,

(Signed) EMMA GOLDMAN"

APPROVED
Boone
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
LOS ANGELES, CAL.

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Instructi

REPORT MADE AT:	MADE:	WHICH MADE:	REPORT M
Washington, DC	10-27-22	10 22	J.T.Flourno,

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

Re: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION SERIES Radical Matter

FACTS DEVELOPED:
Washington, DC

File 4112 -291

ATTENTION MR. HOOVER

Continuing Agent's investigation in this case, Agent attaches to the original copy of this report a booklet entitled "The Russian Revolution and the Communist Party", No 2, by Alexander Berkman. Agent has heretofore reported on booklet No. 1 of this series.

Closed.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/79 BY 2333 Maj/ghe

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
OCT 28 1922
DIVISION

Read by
OCT 28 1922
Wm. J. Burns.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FILE NO. 67-291-100
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 28 1922
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
ROUTED TO: FILE
HOOVER

Copy
to Mr. Justice 9/17/40

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Wash. 3; Office 1.

JTF:R

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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Russian Revolution Series

No. 2

The RUSSIAN REVOLUTION and the COMMUNIST PARTY

Fifteen Cents

1922

61-291-100

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No. 1

THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY

(A Review and An Outlook)

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Copies of the
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Max N. Maisel, Bookstore, 424 Grand St., *New York*, N.Y.
Freie Arbeiter Stimme, 48 Canal St., *New York*, N.Y.
Lillian Kisliuk, 1817 Kenyon St., *Washington*, D. C.
Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston St., *London*, N.W. I, England

Set up and printed for
"Der Syndikalist", Berlin O. 34
1922

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

AND

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

PREFACE

Clarity of ideas is not characteristic of the average mind. Many people still continue to think and to talk of the Russian Revolution and of the Bolsheviki as if the two were identical. In other words, as if nothing had happened in Russia during the last three years.

The great need of the present is to make clear the difference between that grand social event and the ruling political party -- a difference as fundamental as it has been fatal to the Revolution.

The following pages present a clear and historically true picture of the ideals that inspired the Revolution, and of the rôle played by the Bolsheviki. This pamphlet conclusively proves what the Russian Revolution IS and what the Bolshevik State, alias the Communist Party, IS NOT.

I consider this brochure a very able, and for popular reading sufficiently exhaustive, analysis of the Russian Revolution and of the causes of its undoing. It may be regarded as an authoritative expression of the Anarchist movement of Russia, for it was written by Anarchists of differents schools, some of them participants and all of them well versed in the events of the Revolution. It is the joint work of four well known Moscow Anarchists. Their names cannot be mentioned at present, in view of the fact that some of them are still in Russia. Nor are their names important in this connection: rather is it the subject and its treatment. I hereby accept full responsibility for the contents of the following pages, as I am also responsible for the rendering of the Russian manuscript into English.

I take this occasion to correct the erroneous statement contained in Rudolf Rocker's Preface to the German edition of this pamphlet, regarding its authorship. This brochure was written in Moscow, in June, 1921, and secretly forwarded to Rocker. Because of a misunderstanding Comrade Rocker ascribed the authorship of the manuscript to o n e person, hinted at but unnamed in Rocker's Preface. The fact of the authorship is as stated above.

July, 1922. ALEXANDER BERKMAN

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The October Revolution was not the legitimate offspring of traditional Marxism. Russia but little resembled a country in which, according to Marx, "the concentration of the means of production and the socialisation of the tools of labor reached the point where they can no longer be contained within their capitalistic shell. The shell bursts. . . ."

In Russia, "the shell" burst unexpectedly. It burst at a stage of low technical and industrial development, when centralisation of the means of production had made little progress. Russia was a country with a badly organised system of transportation, with a weak bourgeoisie and weak proletariat, but with a numerically strong and socially important peasant population. In short, it was a country in which, apparently, there could be no talk of irreconcilable antagonism between the grown industrial labor forces and a fully ripened capitalist system.

But the combination of circumstances in 1917 involved, particularly for Russia, an exceptional state of affairs which resulted in the catastrophic breakdown of her whole industrial system. "It was easy for Russia", Lenin justly wrote at the time, "*to begin* the socialist revolution in the peculiarly unique situation of 1917."

The specially favorable conditions for the *beginning* of the socialist revolution were:

1) the possibility of blending the slogans of the Social Revolution with the popular demand for the termination of

the imperialistic world war, which had produced great exhaustion and dissatisfaction among the masses;

2) the possibility of remaining, at least for a certain period after quitting the war, outside the sphere of influence of the capitalistic European groups that continued the world war;

3) the opportunity to begin, even during the short time of this respite, the work of internal organisation and to prepare the foundation for revolutionary reconstruction;

4) the exceptionally favorable position of Russia, in case of possible new aggression on the part of West European imperialism, due to her vast territory and insufficient means of communication;

5) the advantages of such a condition in the event of civil war; and

6) the possibility of almost immediately satisfying the fundamental demands of the revolutionary peasantry, notwithstanding the fact that the essentially democratic viewpoint of the agricultural population was entirely different from the socialist program of the "party of the proletariat" which seized the reins of government.

Moreover, revolutionary Russia already had the benefit of a great experience — the experience of 1905, when the Tsarist autocracy succeeded in crushing the revolution for the very reason that the latter strove to be exclusively political and therefore could neither arouse the peasants nor inspire even a considerable part of the proletariat.

The world war, by exposing the complete bankruptcy of constitutional government, served to prepare and quicken the greatest movement of the people — a movement which, by virtue of its very essence, could develop only into a social revolution.

Anticipating the measures of the revolutionary government, often even in defiance of the latter, the revolutionary masses by their own initiative began, long before the October days, to put in practice their social

ideals. They took possession of the land, the factories, mines, mills, and the tools of production. They got rid of the more hated and dangerous representatives of government and authority. In their grand revolutionary outburst they destroyed every form of political and economic oppression. In the deeps of Russia the Social Revolution was raging, when the October change took place in the capitals of Petrograd and Moscow.

The Communist Party, which was aiming at the dictatorship, from the very beginning correctly judged the situation. Throwing overboard the democratic planks of its platform, it energetically proclaimed the slogans of the Social Revolution, in order to gain control of the movement of the masses. In the course of the development of the Revolution, the Bolsheviki gave concrete form to certain fundamental principles and methods of Anarchist Communism, as for instance: the negation of parliamentarism, expropriation of the bourgeoisie, tactics of direct action, seizure of the means of production, establishment of the system of Workers' and Peasants' Councils (Soviets), and so forth.

Furthermore, the Communist Party exploited all the popular demands of the hour: termination of the war, all power to the revolutionary proletariat, the land for the peasants, etc. This, as we shall see later, base demagoguery proved of tremendous psychologic effect in hastening and intensifying the revolutionary process.

But if it was easy, as Lenin said, *to begin* the Revolution, its further development and strengthening were to take place amid difficult surroundings.

The *external* position of Russia, as characterised by Lenin about the middle of 1918, continued to be "unusually complicated and dangerous", and "tempting for the neighboring imperialist States by its temporary weakness". The Socialist Soviet Republic was in an "extraordinarily unstable, very critical international position".

And, indeed, the whole subsequent external history of Russia is full of difficulties in consequence of the necessity

of fighting ceaselessly, often on several fronts at once, against the agents of world imperialism, and even against common adventurers. Only after the final defeat of the Wrangel forces was at last put an end to direct armed interference in the affairs of Russia.

No less difficult and complex, even chaotic, was the *internal* situation of the country.

Complete breakdown of the whole industrial fabric; failure of the national economy; disorganisation of the transportation system, hunger, unemployment; relative lack of organisation among the workers; unusually complex and contradictory conditions of peasant life; the psychology of the "petty proprietor", inimical to the new Soviet régime; sabotage of Soviet work by the technical intelligentsia; the great lack in the Party of trained workers familiar with local conditions, and the practical inefficiency of the Party heads; finally, according to the frank admission of the acknowledged leader of the Bolsheviki, "the greatest hatred, by the masses, and distrust of everything governmental" — that was the situation in which the first and most difficult steps of the Revolution had to be made.

It must also be mentioned that there were still other specific problems with which the revolutionary government had to deal. Namely, the deep-seated contradictions and even antagonisms between the interests and aspirations of the various social groups of the country. The most important of these were:

(a) the most advanced, and in industrial centers the most influential, group of factory proletarians. Notwithstanding their relative cultural and technical backwardness, these elements favored the application of true communist methods;

(b) the numerically powerful peasant population, whose economic attitude was decisive, particularly at a time of industrial prostration and blockade. This class looked with distrust and even hatred upon all attempts of the Communist government to play the guardian and control their economic activities;

(c) the very large and psychologically influential group ıe sense of forming public opinion, even if of a panicky .cter) of the common citizenry: the residue of the upper ,eoisie, technical specialists, small dealers, petty ses, commercial agents of every kind — a numerous ɔup, in which were also to be found functionaries of the ıd régime who adapted themselves and were serving the Soviet government, now and then sabotaging; elements tempted by the opportunities of the new order of things and seeking to make a career; and, finally, persons torn out of their habitual modes of life and literally starving. This class was approximately estimated at 70% of the employees of Soviet institutions.

Naturally, each of these groups looked upon the Revolution with their own eyes, judged its further possibilities from their own point of view, and in their own peculiar manner reacted on the measures of the revolutionary government.

All these antagonisms, rending the country and frequently clashing in bloody strife, inevitably tended to nourish counter-revolution — not mere conspiracy or rebellion, but the terrific convulsion of a country experiencing two world cataclysms at once: war and social revolution.

Thus the political party that assumed the rôle of dictator was faced by problems of unprecedented difficulty. The Communist Party did not shrink from their solution, and in that is its immortal historic merit.

Notwithstanding the many deep antagonisms, in spite of the apparent absence of the conditions necessary for a social revolution, it was too late to discuss about driving back the uninvited guest, and await a new, more favorable opportunity. Only blind, dogmatic or positively reactionary elements could imagine that the Revolution could have been "made differently". The Revolution was not and could not be a mechanical product of the abstract human will. It was an organic process burst with elemental force from the

very needs of the people, from the complex combinatio circumstances that determined their existence.

To return to the old political and economical ré that of industrial feudalism, was out of the question. was impossible, and first of all because it were the den. of the greatest conquest of the Revolution: the right o every worker to a decent human life. It was also impossible because of the fundamental principles of the new national economy: the old régime was inherently inimical to the development of free social relationship — it had no room for labor initiative.

It was apparent that the only right and wholesome solution — which could save the Revolution from its external enemies, free it from the inner strife which rent the country, broaden and deepen the Revolution itself — lay in the direct, creative initiative of the toiling masses. Only they who had for centuries borne the heaviest burdens could through conscious systematic effort find the road to a new, regenerated society. And that was to be the fitting culmination of their unexampled revolutionary zeal.

Lenin himself, replying in one of his works to the question, "How is the discipline of the revolutionary party of the proletariat to be maintained, how to be strengthened?" clearly and definitely replied: "By knowing how to meet, to combine, to some extent even to merge, if you will, with the broad masses of the toilers, mainly with the proletariat, but also *with the non-proletarian laboring masses*". (Italics are Lenin's.)

However, this thought was and still remains, on the whole, in irreconcilable conflict with the spirit of Marxism in its official Bolshevik interpretation, and particularly with Lenin's authoritative view of it.

For years trained in their peculiar "underground" social philosophy, in which fervent faith in the Social Revolution was in some odd manner blended with their no less fanatical faith in State centralisation, the Bolsheviki devised an entirely

new science of tactics. It is to the effect that the preparation and consummation of the Social Revolution necessitates the organisation of a special conspirative staff, consisting exclusively of the theoreticians of the movement, vested with dictatorial powers for the purpose of clarifying and perfecting beforehand, by their own conspirative means, the class-consciousness of the proletariat.

Thus the fundamental characteristic of Bolshevik psychology was distrust of the masses, of the proletariat. Left to themselves, the masses — according to Bolshevik conviction — could rise only to the consciousness of the petty reformer.

The road that leads to the direct creativeness of the masses was thus forsaken.

According to Bolshevik conception, the masses are "dark", mentally crippled by ages of slavery. They are multi-colored: besides the revolutionary advance-guard they comprise great numbers of the indifferent and many self-seekers. The masses, according to the old but still correct maxim of Rousseau, must be made free by force. To educate them to liberty one must not hesitate to use compulsion and violence.

"Proletarian compulsion in all its forms", writes Bukharin, one of the foremost Communist theoreticians, "beginning with summary execution and ending with compulsory labor is, however paradoxical it may sound, a method of reworking the human material of the capitalistic epoch into Communist humanity".

This cynical doctrinairism, this fanatical quasi-philosophy flavored with Communist pedagogic sauce and aided by the pressure of "canonized officials" (expression of the prominent Communist and labor leader Shliapnikov) represent the actual methods of the Party dictatorship, which retains the trade mark of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" merely for gala affairs at home and for advertisement abroad.

Already in the first days of the Revolution, early in 1918, when Lenin first announced to the world his socio-economic

program in its minutest details, the rôles of the people and of the Party in the revolutionary reconstruction were strictly separated and definitely assigned. On the one hand, an absolutely submissive socialist herd, a dumb people; on the other, the omniscient, all-controlling Political Party. What is inscrutable to all, is an open book to It. In the land there may be only *one* indisputable source of truth — the State. But the Communist State is, in essence and practice, the dictatorship of the Party only, or — more correctly — the dictatorship of its Central Committee. Each and every citizen must be, first and foremost, the servant of the State, its obedient functionary, unquestioningly executing the will of his master — if not as a matter of conscience, then out of fear. All free initiative, of the individual as well as of the collectivity, is eliminated from the vision of the State. The people's Soviets are transformed into sections of the Ruling Party; the Soviet institutions become soulless offices, mere transmitters of the will of the center to the periphery. All expressions of State activity must be stamped with the approving seal of Communism as interpreted by the faction in power. Everything else is considered superfluous, useless and dangerous.

This system of barrack absolutism, supported by bullet and bayonet, has subjugated every phase of life, stopping neither before the destruction of the best cultural values, nor before the most stupendous squandering of human life and energy.

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By its declaration *L'état c'est moi*, the Bolshevik dictatorship has assumed entire responsibility for the Revolution in all its historic and ethical implications.

Having paralised the constructive efforts of the people, the Communist Party could henceforth count only on its own initiative. By what means, then, did the Bolshevik

dictatorship expect to use to best advantage the resources of the Social Revolution? What road did it choose, not merely to subject the masses mechanically to its authority, but also to educate them, to inspire them with advanced socialist ideas, and to stimulate them — exhausted as they were by long war, economic ruin and police rule — with new faith in socialist reconstruction? What has it substituted in place of the revolutionary enthusiasm which burned so intensely before?

Two things, which comprised the beginning and the end of the constructive activities of the Bolshevik dictatorship: 1) the theory of the Communist State, and 2) terrorism.

In his speeches about the Communist program, in discussions at conferences and congresses, and in his celebrated pamphlet on "Infantile Sickness of 'Leftism' in Communism", Lenin gradually shaped that peculiar doctrine of the Communist State which was fated to play the dominant rôle in the attitude of the Party and to determine all the subsequent steps of the Bolsheviki in the sphere of practical politics. It is the doctrine of a zigzag political road: of "respites" and "tributes", agreements and compromises, profitable retreats, advantageous withdrawals and surrenders — a truly classical theory of compromise.

Scorning the "chuckling and giggling of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie", Lenin calls upon the laboring masses to "steer down the wind", to retreat, to wait and watch, to go slowly, and so on. Not the fiery spirit of Communism, but sober commercialism which can successfully bargain for a few crumbs of socialism from the still unconquered bourgeoisie — that is the "need of the hour". To encourage and develop the virtues of the trader, the spirit of parsimony and profitable dealing: that is the first commandment to the "regenerated" people.

In the pamphlet referred to, Lenin scouts all stereotyped morality and compares the tactics of his Party with those of a military commander, ignoring the gulf which divides

them and their aims. All means are good that lead to victory. There are compromises and compromises. "The whole history of Bolshevism before and after the October Revolution", Lenin sermonises the "naïve German left Communists" who are stifling in their own revolutionary fervor, "is *replete* with instances of agreements and compromises with other parties, the bourgeoisie included". To prove his assertion, Lenin enumerates in great detail various cases of bargaining with bourgeoisie parties, beginning with 1905 and up to the adoption by the Bolsheviki, at the time of the October Revolution, "of the agrarian platform of the socialists-revolutionists, *in toto,* without change".

Compromise and bargaining, for which the Bolsheviki so unmercifully and justly denounced and stigmatised all the other factions of State Socialism, now become the Bethlehem Star pointing the way to revolutionary reconstruction. Naturally, such methods could not fail to lead, with fatal inevitability, into the swamp of conformation, hypocrisy and unprincipledness.

The Brest Litovsk peace; the agrarian policy with its spasmodic changes from the poorest class of peasantry to the peasant exploiter; the perplexed, panicky attitude to the labor unions; the fitful policy in regard to technical experts, with its theoretical and practical swaying from collegiate management of industries to "one-man power"; nervous appeals to West European capitalism, over the heads of the home and foreign proletariat; finally, the latest inconsistent and zigzaggy, but incontrovertible and assured restoration of the abolished bourgeoisie — such is the new system of Bolshevism. A system of unprecedented shamelessness practiced on a monster scale, a policy of outrageous double-dealing in which the left hand of the Communist Party is beginning consciously to ignore, and even to deny, on principle, what its right hand is doing; when, for instance, it is proclaimed, on the one hand, that the most important problem of the moment is the struggle against the small

bourgeoisie (and, incidentally, in stereotyped Bolshevik phraseology, against anarchist elements), while on the other hand are issued new decrees creating the techno-economic and psychological conditions necessary for the restoration and strengthening of that same bourgeoisie — that is the Bolshevik policy which will forever stand as a monument of the thoroughly false, thoroughly contradictory, concerned only in self-preservation, opportunistic policy of the Communist Party dictatorship.

However loud that dictatorship may shout about the great success of its new political methods, it remains the most tragic fact that the worst and most incurable wounds of the Revolution were received at the hands of the Communist dictatorship itself.

An inevitable consequence of Communist Party rule was also the other "method" of Bolshevik management: terrorism.

Long ago Engels said that the proletariat does not need the State to protect liberty, but needs it for the purpose of crushing its opponents; and that when it will be possible to speak of liberty, there will be no government. The Bolsheviki adopted this maxim not only as their socio-political axiom during the "transition period", but gave it universal application.

Terrorism always was and still remains the *ultima ratio* of government alarmed for its existence. Terrorism is tempting with its tremendous possibilities. It offers a mechanical solution, as it were, in hopeless situations. Psychologically it is explained as a matter of self-defense, as the necessity of throwing off responsibility the better to strike the enemy.

But the principles of terrorism unavoidably rebound to the fatal injury of liberty and revolution. Absolute power corrupts and defeats its partisans no less than its opponents. A people that knows not liberty becomes accustomed to dictatorship: fighting despotism and counter-revolution, terrorism itself becomes their efficient school.

Once on the road of terrorism, the State necessarily becomes estranged from the people. It must reduce to the possible minimum the circle of persons vested with extraordinary powers, in the name of the safety of the State. And then is born what may be called the panic of authority. The dictator, the despot is always cowardly. He suspects treason everywhere. And the more terrified he becomes, the wilder rages his frightened imagination, incapable of distinguishing real danger from fancied. He sows broadcast discontent, antagonism, hatred. Having chosen this course, the State is doomed to follow it to the very end.

The Russian people remained silent, and in their name — in the guise of mortal combat with counter-revolution — the government initiated the most merciless warfare against all political opponents of the Communist Party. Every vestige of liberty was torn out by the roots. Freedom of thought, of the press, of public assembly, self-determination of the worker and of his unions, the freedom of labor — all were declared old rubbish, doctrinaire nonsense, "bourgeois prejudices", or intrigues of reviving counter-revolution. Science, art, education fell under suspicion. Science is to investigate and teach only the truths of the Communist State: the schools and universities are speedily transformed into Party schools.

Election campaigns, as for instance the recent re-elections to the Moscow Soviet (1921), involve the arrest and imprisonment of opposition candidates who are not favored by the authorities. With entire impunity the government exposes non-Communist candidates to public insult and derision on the pages of the official newspapers pasted on bulletin boards. By numberless stratagems the electors are cajoled and menaced, in turn, and the result of the so-called elections is the complete perversion of the people's will.

State terrorism is exercised through government organs known as Extraordinary Commissions. Vested with unlimited powers, independent of any control and practically irresponsible, possessing their own "simplified" forms of

investigation and procedure, with a numerous staff of ignorant, corrupt and brutal agents, these Commissions have within a short time become not only the terror of actual or fancied counter-revolution, but also — and much more so — the most virulent ulcer on the revolutionary body of the country.

The all-pervading secret police methods, the inseparable from them system of provocation, the division of the population into well-meaning and ill-disposed, have gradually transformed the struggle for the new world into an unbridled debauch of espionage, pillage and violence.

No reactionary régime ever dominated the life and liberty of its citizens with such arbitrariness and despotism as the alleged "dictatorship of the proletariat". As in the old days of Tsarism, the "okhranka" (secret police section) rules the land. The Soviet prisons are filled with socialists and revolutionists of every shade of political opinion. Physical violence toward political prisoners and hunger strikes in prison are again the order of the day. Summary executions, not only of individuals but en masse, are common occurrences. The Socialist State has not scrupled to resort to a measure which even the most brutal bourgeois governments did not dare to use: the system of hostages. Relationship or even casual friendship is sufficient ground for merciless persecution and, quite frequently, for capital punishment.

Gross and barbaric contempt for the most elementary human rights has become an axiom of the Communist Government.

With logical inevitability the Extraordinary Commissions have gradually grown into a monstrous autocratic mechanism, independent and unaccountable, with power over life and death. Appeal is impossible, non-existent. Even the supreme organs of State authority are powerless before the Extraordinary Commissions, as proven by bitter experience.

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The Bolshevik Party is not in the habit of scorning any perversion of truth to stigmatise every anti-Bolshevik criticism or protest as "conspiracy" of one of the "right" socialist parties: of the social-democratic Mensheviki and Socialist-Revolutionists. Thus the Communists seek to justify brutal repressions against the "right elements". In regard to the Anarchists, however, Bolshevist terrorism cannot be "justified" by such means.

It is apropos here to sketch, though very briefly, the mutual relations between Anarchism and Bolshevism during the Revolution.

When, in the first days of the Revolution (1917), the laboring masses began the destruction of the system of private ownership and of government, the Anarchists worked shoulder to shoulder with them. The October Revolution instinctively followed the path marked out by the great popular outburst, naturally reflecting Anarchist tendencies. The Revolution destroyed the old State mechanism and proclaimed in political life the principle of the federation of soviets. It employed the method of direct expropriation to abolish private capitalistic ownership: the peasants and workers expropriated the landlords, chased the financiers from the banks, seized the factories, mines, mills and shops. In the field of economic reconstruction the Revolution established the principle of the federation of shop and factory committees for the management of production. House committees looked after the proper assignment of living quarters.

In this early phase of the October Revolution, the Anarchists aided the people with all the power at their command, and worked hand in hand with the Bolsheviki in supporting and strengthening the new principles. Among the legion of enthusiastic fighters of the Revolution, who to the end remained true to the ideals and methods of Anarchism, we may particularly mention here Justin Zhook, the founder of the famous Schluesselburg powder mill, who lost his life while performing revolutionary military duty;

also Zhelesnyakov, who with rare strength and courage dispersed the Constituent Assembly, and who afterwards fell fighting against counter-revolutionary invasion.

But as soon as the Bolsheviki succeeded in gaining control of the movement of the masses, the work of social reconstruction suffered a sharp change in its character and forms.

From now on the Bolsheviki, under cover of the dictatorship of the proletariat, use every effort to build up a centralised bureaucratic State. All who interpreted the Social Revolution as, primarily, the self-determination of the masses, the introduction of free, non-governmental Communism, -- they are henceforth doomed to persecution. This persecution was directed, first of all, against the critics from "the left", the Anarchists. In April, 1918, the ruling Communist Party decided to abolish all Anarchist organisations. Without warning, on the night of April 12th, the Anarchist club of Moscow was surrounded by artillery and machine guns, and those present on the premises ordered to surrender. Fire was opened on those resisting. The Anarchist quarters were raided, and the following day the entire Anarchist press was suppressed.

Since then the persecution of Anarchists and of their organisations has assumed a systematic character. On the one hand our comrades were perishing on the military fronts, fighting counter-revolution; on the other, they were struck down by the Bolshevik State by means of the Extraordinary Commissions (Tcheka).

The further the ruling Party departed from the path marked out by the October Revolution, the more determinedly it oppressed the other revolutionary elements and particularly the Anarchists. In November, 1918, the All-Russian Conference of the Anarcho-Syndicalists, held in Moscow, was arrested *in corpore*. The other Anarchist organisations were broken up and terrorised. Because of the total impossibility of legal activity, some Anarchists decided

to "go underground". Several of them, in coöperation with some left Socialist-Revolutionists, resorted to terrorism. On September 25, 1919, they exploded a bomb in the building (Leontevsky Pereulok) in which the Moscow Committee of the Party was in session. The Anarchist organisations of Moscow, not considering terrorism a solution of the difficulties, publicly expressed disapproval of the tactics of the underground group. The government, however, replied with repressions against *all* Anarchists. Many members of the underground group were executed, a number of Moscow Anarchists were arrested, and in the provinces every expression of the Anarchist movement was suppressed. The finding, during a search, of such Anarchist literature as the works of Kropotkin or Bakunin, led to arrest.

Only in the Ukraina, where the power of the Bolsheviki was comparatively weak, owing to the wide-spread rebel-peasant movement known as the Makhnovstschina (from its leader, the Anarchist Makhno), the Anarchist movement continued to some extent active. The advance of Wrangel into the heart of the Ukraina and the inability of the Red Army to halt his progress, caused Makhno temporarily to suspend his struggle with the Bolsheviki for free Soviets and the self-determination of the laboring masses. He offered his help to the Bolsheviki to fight the common enemy Wrangel. The offer was accepted, and a contract officially concluded between the Soviet Government and the army of Makhno.

Wrangel was defeated and his army dispersed, with Makhno playing no inconsiderable part in this great military triumph. But with the liquidation of Wrangel, Makhno became unnecessary and dangerous to the Bolsheviki. It was decided to get rid of him, to put an end to "Makhnovstschina", and, incidentally, dispose of the Anarchists at large. The Bolshevik government betrayed Makhno: the Red forces treacherously surrounded Makhno's army demanding surrender. At the same time all the delegates who had arrived in Kharkov to participate in the

Anarchist Congress, for which official permission had been given, were arrested, as well as the Anarchists resident in Kharkov and the comrades still en route to the Congress.

Yet, in spite of all the provocative and terroristic tactics of the Bolsheviki against them, the Anarchists of Russia refrained, during the whole period of civil war, from protesting to the workers of Europe and America — aye, even to those of Russia itself — fearing that such action might be prejudicial to the interests of the Russian Revolution and that it may aid the common enemy, world imperialism.

But with the termination of civil war the position of the Anarchists grew even worse. The new policy of the Bolsheviki of open compromise with the bourgeois world became clearer, more definite, and ever sharper their break with the revolutionary aspirations of the working masses. The struggle against Anarchism, till then often masked by the excuse of fighting "banditism in the guise of Anarchism", now became open and frank warfare against Anarchist ideals and ideas, as such.

The Kronstadt events offered the Bolsheviki the desired pretext for completely "liquidating" the Anarchists. Wholesale arrests were instituted throughout Russia. Irrespective of factional adherence, practically all known Russian Anarchists were taken into the police net. To this day all of them remain in prison, without any charges having been preferred against them. In the night of April 25th—26th, 1921, all the political prisoners in the Bootirka prison (Moscow), to the number of over 400, consisting of representatives of the right and left wings of socialist parties and members of Anarchist organisations, were forcibly taken from the prison and transferred. On that occasion many of the prisoners suffered brutal violence: women were dragged down the steps by their hair, and a number of the politicals sustained serious injuries. The prisoners were divided into several groups and sent to

various prisons in the provinces. Of their further fate we have so far been unable to receive definite information.*)

Thus did the Bolsheviki reply to the revolutionary enthusiasm and deep faith which inspired the masses in the beginning of their great struggle for liberty and justice — a reply that expressed itself in the policy of compromise abroad and terrorism at home.

This policy proved fatal: it corrupted and disintegrated the Revolution, poisoned it, slayed its soul, destroyed its moral, spiritual significance. By its despotism; by strubborn, petty paternalism; by the perfidy which replaced its former revolutionary idealism; by its stifling formalism and criminal indifference to the interests and aspirations of the masses; by its cowardly suspicion and distrust of the people at large, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" hopelessly cut itself off from the laboring masses.

Thrust back from direct participation in the constructive work of the Revolution, harassed at every step, the victim of constant supervision and control by the Party, the proletariat is becoming accustomed to consider the Revolution and its further fortunes as the private, personal affair of the Bolsheviki. In vain does the Communist Party seek by ever new decrees to preserve its hold upon the country's life. The people have seen through the real meaning of the Party dictatorship. They know its narrow, selfish dogmatism, its cowardly opportunism; they are aware of its internal decay, its intrigues behind the scenes.

In the land where, after three years of tremendous effort, of terrible and heroic sacrifice, there should have come to bloom the wonder-flower of Communism, — alas, even its withered buds are killed in distrust, apathy, and enmity.

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*) This pamphlet was written in June, 1921, as mentioned in my Preface. Since then some of the Anarchists imprisoned in Moscow have been deported from Russia, though natives of that country; others have been exiled to distant parts, while a large number are still in the prisons.
A. B.

Thus came about the era of revolutionary stagnation, of sterility, which cannot be cured by any political party methods, and which demonstrates the complete social atrophy.

The swamp of compromise into which Bolshevik dictatorship had sunk proved fatal to the Revolution: it became poisoned by its noxious miasma. In vain do the Bolsheviki point to the imperialistic world war as the cause of Russia's economic breakdown; in vain do they ascribe it to the blockade and the attacks of armed counter-revolution. Not in them is the real source of the collapse and débacle.

No blockade, no wars with foreign reaction could dismay or conquer the revolutionary people whose unexampled heroism, self-sacrifice and perseverance defeated all its external enemies. On the contrary, it is probable that civil war really helped the Bolsheviki. It served to keep alive popular enthusiasm and nurtured the hope that, with the end of war, the ruling Communist Party will make effective the new revolutionary principles and secure the people in the enjoyment of the fruits of the Revolution. The masses looked forward to the yearned-for opportunity for social and economic liberty. Paradoxical as it may sound, the Communist dictatorship had no better ally, in the sense of stengthening and prolonging its life, than the reactionary forces which fought against it.

It was only the termination of the wars which permitted a full view of the economic and psychologic demoralisation to which the blindly despotic policy of the dictatorship brought the revolutionary country. Then it became evident that the most formidable danger to the Revolution was not outside, but *within* the country: a danger resulting from the very nature of the social and economic arrangements which characterise the present "transitory stage".

We fully realise the gross error of the theoreticians of bourgeois political economy who wilfully ignore the study

of industrial evolution from the historico-social viewpoint, and stupidly confound the system of State capitalism with that of the socialist dictatorship. The Bolsheviki are quite right when they insist that the two types of socio-economic development are "diametrically opposed in their essential character." However, it were wrong and useless to pretend that such a form of industrial life as expressed in the present system of proletarian dictatorship is anything essentially different from State capitalism.

As a matter of fact, the proletarian dictatorship, as it actually exists, is in no sense different from State capitalism.

The distinctive characteristics of the latter — inherent social antagonisms—are abolished only formally in the Soviet Republic. In reality those antagonisms exist and are very deep-seated. The exploitation of labor, the enslavement of the worker and peasant, the cancellation of the citizen as a human being, as a personality, and his transformation into a microscopic part of the universal economic mechanism owned by the government; the creation of privileged groups favored by the State; the system of compulsory labor service and its punitive organs — such are the characteristic features of State capitalism.

All these features are also to be found in the present Russian system. It were unpardonable naivity, or still more unpardonable hypocrisy, to pretend — as do Bolshevik theoreticians, especially Bukharin—that universal compulsory labor service in the system of the proletarian dictatorship is, in contradistinction to State capitalism, "the self-organisation of the masses for purposes of labor", or that the existing "mobilisation of industry is the strengthening of socialism", and that "State coercion in the system of proletarian dictatorship is a means of building the Communist society".

A year ago Trotzky, at the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia, thundered against the "bourgeois notion" that compulsory labor is not productive. He sought

to convince his audience that the main problem is to "draw the worker into the process of labor, not by external methods of coercion, but by means internal, psychological". But when he approached the concrete application of this principle, he advocated a "very complex system, involving methods of an ethical nature, as well as premiums and *punishment*, in order to increase the productivity of labor in consonance with those principles of compulsion according to which we are constructing our whole economic life".

The experiment was made, and it gave surprising results. Whether the old "bourgeois notion" proved correct, or the newest socialism was powerless "internally, psychologically compulsory" to "draw the worker into the process of production", by means of premiums, punishment, etc., at any rate, the worker refused to be snared by the tempting formula of "psychologic coercion". Evidently the ideology as well as the practice of Bolshevism convinced the toilers that the socio-economic ideals of the Bolsheviki are incidentally also a step forward in the more intensive exploitation of labor. For Bolshevism, far from saving the country from ruin and in no way improving the conditions of existence for the masses, is attempting to turn the serf of yesterday into a complete slave. How little the Communist State is concerned about the workers' well-being is seen from the statement of a prominent Communist delegate to the Tenth Congress of the Party: "Up till now Soviet policy has been characterised by the complete absence of any plan to improve the living conditions of labor". And further: "All that was done in that regard happened accidentally, or was done by fits and starts, by local authorities under pressure of the masses themselves".

Is this, then, the system of proletarian dictatorship or State capitalism?

Chained to their work, deprived of the right to leave the job on pain of prison or summary execution for "labor desertion"; bossed and spied upon by Party overseers; divided into qualified sheep (artisans) and unqualified goats

(laborers) receiving unequal food rations; hungry and insufficiently clad, deprived of the right to protest or strike — such are the modern proletarians of the Communist dictatorship. Is this "self-organisation" of the toiling masses not a step backward, a return to feudal serfdom or negro slavery? Is the hand of the Communist State executioner less ruthless than the whip of the plantation boss? Only scholasticism or blind fanaticism can see in this, the most grievous form of slavery, the emancipation of labor or even the least approach to it.

It is the height of tragedy that State Socialism, enmeshed in logical antitheses, could give to the world nothing better than the intensification of the evils of the very system whose antagonisms produced socialism.

The Party dictatorship applies the same policy, in every detail, also to the peasantry. Here, too, the State is the universal master. The same policy of compulsory labor service, of oppression, spying, and systematic expropriation of the fruits of the peasant's toil: the former method of requisition which frequently stripped the peasants even of the necessaries of life; or the newly initiated, but no less predatory, food tax; the senseless, enormous waste of foodstuffs due to the combrous system of centralisation and the Bolshevik food policy; the dooming of whole peasant districts to slow starvation, disease and death; punitive expeditions, massacring peasant families by the wholesale and razing entire villages to the ground for the slightest resistance to the plundering policy of the Communist dictatorship — such are the methods of Bolshevik rule.

Thus, neither economic nor political exploitation of the industrial and agrarian prolètariat has ceased. Only its forms have changed: formerly exploitation was purely capitalistic; now, labeled "workers' and peasants' government" and christened "communist economy", it is State capitalistic.

But this modern system of State capitalism is pernicious not only because it degrades the living human into a soulless

machine. It contains another, no less destructive, element. By its very nature this system is extremely aggressive. Far from abolishing militarism, in the narrow sense of the term, it applies the principle of militarisation — with all its attributes of mechanical discipline, irresponsible authority and repression — to every phase of human effort.

Socialist militarism is not only admitted, but defended and justified by the theoreticians of the Party. Thus Bukharin in his work on the "Economics of the Transition Period" writes: "The workers' government, when waging war, seeks to broaden and strengthen the economic foundations on which it is built — that is, socialist forms of production. Incidentally, it is clear from this that, in principle, even an aggressive revolutionary socialist war is permissible". And, indeed, we are already familiar with some imperialistic pretensions of the "workers" dictatorship.

Thus the "bourgeois prejudices" kicked out through the window re-enter through the door.

It is evident that the militarism of the "labor" dictatorship, like any other militarism, necessitates the formation of a gigantic army of non-producers. Moreover, such an army and all its various organs must be supplied with technical resources and means of existence, which puts additional burdens on the producers, that is, the workers and the peasants.

Another and the most momentous internal danger is the dictatorship itself. The dictatorship which, despotic and ruthless, has alienated itself from the laboring masses, has strangled initiative and liberty, suppressed the creative spirit of the very elements which bore the brunt of the Revolution, and is slowly but effectively instilling its poison in the hearts and minds of Russia.

Thus does the dictatorship itself sow counter-revolution. Not conspiraces from without, not the campaigns of the Denikins and Wrangels are the Damocles

sword of Russia. The real and greatest danger is that country-wide disillusionment, resentment and hatred of Bolshevik despotism, that counter-revolutionary attitude of the people at large, which is the legitimate offspring of the Communist Party dictatorship itself.

Even in the ranks of the proletariat is ripening, with cumulative force, the protest against the reactionary "big stick" policy of Bolshevism.

* * *

The organised labor movement of Russia developed immedialely after the February Revolution. The formation of shop and factory committees was the first step toward actual control by labor of the activities of the capitalist owners. Such control, however, could not be general without coördinating the work of all other similar committees, and thus came to life Soviets, or General Councils, of shop and factory committees, and their All-Russian Congress.

In this manner the shop and factory committees *(zahvkomy)* were the pioneers in labor control of industry, with the prospect of themselves, in the near future, managing the industries entire. The labor unions, on the other hand, were engaged in improving the living conditions and cultural environment of their membership.

But after the October Revolution the situation changed. The centralisation methods of the Bolshevik dictatorship penetrated also into the unions. The autonomy of the shop committees was now declared superfluous. The labor unions were reorganised on industrial principles, with the shop committee emasculated into a mere "embryo" of the union, and entirely subjected to the authority of the central organs. Thus all independence of action, all initiative was torn from the hands of the workers themselves and transferred to the union bureaucracy. The result of this policy was the compelete indifference of the workers to their unions and to the fate of the industries.

Then the Communist Party began to fill the labor unions with its own party members. *They occupied the union offices.* That was easily done because all the other political parties were outlawed and there existed no public press except the official Bolshevik publications. No wonder that within a short time the Communists proved an overwhelming majority in all the provincial and central executive committees, and had in their hands the exclusive management of the labor unions. They usurped the dominant rôle in every labor body, including even such organisations where the membership (as in the Union of Soviet Employees) is manifestly and most bitterly opposed to the Bolsheviki. Whenever an occasional union proved refractory, as the printers, for instance, and refused to yield to "internal psychologic persuasion", the Communists solved the difficulty by the simple expedient of suspending the entire administration of the union.

Having gained control of the political machinery of the labor organisations, the Communist Party formed in every shop and factory small groups of its own members, so-called Communist "cells", which became the practical masters of the situation. The Communist "cell" is vested with such powers that no action of the shop or factory committee (even if the latter consist of Communists) is valid unless sanctioned by the "cell". The highest organ of the labor movement, the All-Russian Central Soviet of Labor Unions, is itself under the direct control of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders take the position that the labor union must be, first and foremost, a "school of Communism". In practice the rôle of the labor union in Russia is reduced to that of an automatic agency for the execution of the orders of the ruling Party.

However, this state of affairs is becoming unbearable even to that labor element which is still faithful to the commandments of State Communism. In the ranks of the Communist Party itself there has developed an opposition

movement against the military governmentalisation of the labor unions. This new movement, known as the Labor Opposition, though still loyal to its Communist parent, yet realises the full horror of the hopeless position, the "blind alley" into which the criminally stupid policies of the Bolsheviki have driven the Russian proletariat and the Revolution.

The Labor Opposition is characterised by the good orthodox Communist Kolontay as "the advance guard of the proletariat, class conscious and welded by the ties of class interests", an element which "has not estranged itself from the rank and file of the working masses and has not become lost among Soviet office holders." This Labor Opposition protests "against the bureaucratisation, against the differentiation between the 'upper' and the 'lower' people", against the excesses of the Party hegemony, and against the shifting and twisting policy of the ruling central power. "The great creative and constructive power of the proletariat", says the Labor Opposition, "cannot be replaced, in the task of building the Communist society, by the mere emblem of the dictatorship of the working class", — of that dictatorship which a prominent Communist characterised at the last Congress of the Communist Party as "the dictatorship of the Party bureaucracy".

Indeed, the Labor Opposition is justified in asking: "Are we, the proletariat, really the backbone of the working class dictatorship, or are we to be considered merely as a will-less herd, good enough only to carry on our backs some party politicians who are pretending to reconstruct the economic life of the country without our control, without our constructive class spirit?"

And this Labor Opposition, according to Kolontay, "keeps on growing in spite of the determined resistance on the part of the most influential leaders of the Party, and gains more and more adherents among the laboring masses throughout Russia".

But the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia (April, 1921) put its decisive veto on the Labor Opposition. Henceforth it is officially doomed, discussion of its ideas and principles forbidden because of "their Anarcho-syndicalist tendency", as Lenin expressed himself. The Communist Party declared war on the Labor Opposition. The Party Congress decided that "propagation of the principles of the Labor Opposition is incompatible with membership in the Communist Party". The demand to turn the management of the industries over to the proletariat was outlawed.

* *
*

The October Revolution was initiated with the great battle cry of the First International, "The emancipation of the workers must be accomplished by the workers themselves". Yet we saw that, when the period of constructive destruction had passed, when the foundations of Tsarism had been razed, and the bourgeois system abolished, the Communist Party thought itself sufficiently strong to take into its own hands the entire management of the country. It began the education of the workers in a spirit of strictest authoritarianism, and step by step the Soviet system became transformed into a bureaucratic, punitive police machine. Terrorism became its logical, inevitable handmaid.

General indifference and hatred, and complete social paralysis, were the result of the government course. An atmosphere of slavish submission, at once revolting and disgusting, pervades the whole country. It stifles alike the oppressed and the oppressors.

What boots it that the sober minded, compromise ready Lenin begins his every speech with the confession of the many and serious mistakes which have been made by the Party in power? No piling up of mistakes by the "ingenious opportunist", as Lunacharsky dubs Lenin, can dismay the champions of Bolshevism intoxicated with their Party's

political dominion. The mistakes of their leaders become, in the interpretation of Communist theoreticians and publicists, "eminent necessity", and the convulsive attempts to correct them (the whole agrarian policy) are hailed as acts of the greatest wisdom, humanity und loyalty to Bolshevik principles.

In vain the impatient cry of Kolontay: "The fear of criticism, inherent in our system of bureaucracy, at times reaches the point of caricature". The Party Elders brand her a heretic for her pains, her pamphlet "The Labor Opposition" is prohibited, and Illitch himself (Lenin) "settles" her with a few sarcastic personal slurs. The syndicalist "peril" is supposedly removed.

Meanwhile the Opposition is growing, deepening, spreading throughout working Russia.

Indeed, what shall the impartial observer think of the peculiar picture presented by Bolshevik Russia? Numerous labor strikes, with scores of workers arrested and often summarily executed; peasant uprisings and revolts, continuous revolutionary insurrections in various parts of the country. Is it not a terribly tragic situation, a heinous absurdity? Is not the rebellion of workers and peasants, however lacking in class consciousness in some cases, actual war against the workers' and peasants' government — the very government which is flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of themselves, which had been called to guard their interests, and whose existence should be possible only in so far as it corresponds to the needs and demands of the laboring masses?

The popular protests do not cease. The opposition movement grows, and in self-defense the Party must, from time to time, mollify the people, even at the sacrifice of its principles. But where it is impossible by a few sops to still the craving for bread and liberty, the hungry mouths are shut with bullet or bayonet, and the official press brands the protestants with the infamous name of "counter-revolutionists", traitors against the "workers' and peasants' government".

Then Russia, Bolshevik Russia, is quiet again — with the quietness of death.

The history of recent days is filled with grewsome illustrations of such "quiet".

One of those illustrations is Kronstadt — Kronstadt, against which has been perpetrated the most awful crime of the Party dictatorship, a crime against the proletariat, against socialism, against the Revolution. A crime multiplied a hundredfold by the deliberate and perfidious lies spread by the Bolsheviki throughout the world.

Future history will deal adequately with this crying shame. Here we shall give but a brief sketch of the Kronstadt events.

In the month of February, 1921, the workers of four Petrograd factories went on strike. It had been an exceptionally hard winter for them: they and their families suffered from cold, hunger and exhaustion. They demanded an increase of their food rations, some fuel and clothing. Here and there was also voiced the demand for the Constituent Assembly and free trade. The strikers attempted a street demonstration, and the authorities ordered out the military against them, chiefly the "kursants", the young Communists of the military training schools.

When the Kronstadt sailors learned what was happening in Petrograd, they expressed their solidarity with the strikers in their economic and revolutionary demands, but refused to support any call for the Constituent Assembly and free trade. On March 1, the sailors organised a mass-meeting in Kronstadt which was attended also by the Chairman of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Kalinin, (the presiding officer of the Republic of Russia), by the Commander of the Fortress of Kronstadt, Kuzmin, and by the Chairman of the Kronstadt Soviet, Vassilyev. The meeting, held with the knowledge and permission of the Executive Committee of the Kronstadt Soviet, passed resolutions approved by the sailors, the garrison and the citizen meeting of 16,000 persons. Kalinin, Kuzmin and Vassilyev spoke against the resolutions. The main points

of the latter were: free speech and free press for the revolutionary parties; amnesty for imprisoned revolutionists; re-election of the Soviets by secret ballot and freedom from government interference during the electioneering campaign.

The Bolshevik authorities replied to the resolutions by beginning to remove from the city the food and ammunition supplies. The sailors prevented the attempt, closed the entrances to the city, and arrested some of the more obstreperous commissars. Kalinin was permitted to return to Petrograd.

No sooner did the Petrograd authorities learn of the Kronstadt resolutions, than they initiated a campaign of lies and libel. In spite of the fact that Zinoviev kept in constant telephonic communication with the presiding officer of the Kronstadt Soviet, and was assured by the latter that all was quiet in Kronstadt and that the sailors were busy only with preparations for the re-elections, the Petrograd radio station was kept hard at work sending messages to the world announcing a counter-revolutionary conspiracy and a white-guard uprising in Kronstadt. At the same time Zinoviev, Kalinin and their aids succeeded in persuading the Petrograd Soviet to pass a resolution which was an ultimatum to Kronstadt to surrender immediately, on pain of complete annihilation in case of refusal.

A group of well-known and trusted revolutionists, then in Petrograd, realising the provocative character of such a policy, appealed to Zinoviev and to the Council of Defense, of which he was the President. They pointed out the un-revolutionary, reactionary nature of his policy and its great danger to the Revolution. The demands of Kronstadt were clearly set forth: they were against the Constituent Assembly, against free trade, and in favor of the Soviet form of government. But the people of Kronstadt, as they frankly stated in their bulletin, could no longer tolerate the despotism of the Party, and demanded the right to air their grievances and the re-establishment of free Soviets. "All

power to the Soviets" was again their watch-word, as it had been that of the people and of the Bolsheviki in 1917. To resort to armed force against Kronstadt were the height of folly; indeed, a terrible crime. The only right and revolutionary solution lay in complying with the request of Kronstadt (wired by the sailors to Zinoviev, but not transmitted by him to the Soviet) for the selection of an impartial Commission to reach an amicable settlement.

But this appeal of the Petrograd group of revolutionaries was ignored. Many Communists clearly understood how maliciously reactionary was the government attitude toward Kronstadt, but slavishly debased and morally crippled by the jesuitism of the Party, they dared not speak and mutely participated in the crime .

On March 7th Trotzky began the bombardment of Kronstadt, and on the 17th the fortress and city were taken, after numerous fierce assaults involving terrific human sacrifice and treachery. Thus Kronstadt was "liquidated", and the "counter-revolutionary plot" quenched in blood. The "conquest" of the city was characterised by ruthless savagery to the defeated, although not a single one of the Communists arrested by the Kronstadt sailors had been injured or killed by them. And even before the storming of the fortress the Bolsheviki summarily executed numerous soldiers of the Red Army, whose revolutionary spirit and solidarity caused them to refuse to participate in the bloody bath.

The "conspiracy" and the "victory" were necessary for the Communist Party to save it from threatening inner decomposition. Trotzky, who during the discussion of the rôle of the Labor Unions (at the joint session of the Communist Party, the Central Executive Council of the Unions, and the delegates to the 6th Congress of the Soviets, December 30, 1920) was treated by Lenin as a bad boy who "don't know his Marx", once more proved himself the savior of the "country in danger". Harmony was re-established.

A few days after the "glorious conquest" of Kronstadt, Lenin said at the 10th Congress of the Communist Party of

Russia: "The sailors did not want the counter-revolutionists, but — they did not want us, either". And, — irony of the executioner! — at that very Congress Lenin advocated *free trade*, "as a respite".

On March 17th the Communist government celebrated its bloody victory over the Kronstadt proletariat, and on the 18th it commemorated the martyrs of the Paris Commune. As if it was not evident to all who had eyes and would see, that the crime committed against Kronstadt was far more terrible and enormous than the slaughter of the Commune in 1871, for it was done in the name of the Social Revolution, in the name of the Socialist Republic. Henceforth to the vile classic figures of Thiers and Gallifet are added those of Trotzky, Zinoviev, Dihbenko, Tukhachefsky.

* * *

Thus is human sacrifice brought to the Moloch of Bolshevism, to the gigantic lie that is still growing and spreading throughout the world and enmeshing it in its network of ruin, falsehood and treachery. Nor is it only the liberty and lives of individual citizens which are sacrificed to this god of clay, nor even merely the well-being of the country: it is socialist ideals and the fate of the Revolution which are being destroyed.

Long ago Bakunin wrote: "The whole power of the Russian Tsar is built upon a lie — a lie at home and a lie abroad: a colossal and artful system of lies never witnessed before, perhaps, in the whole history of man".

But now such a system exists. It is the system of State Communism. The revolutionary proletariat of the world must open their eyes to the real situation in Russia. They should learn to see to what a terrible abyss the ruling Bolshevik Party, by its blind and bloody dictatorship, has brought Russia and the Russian Revolution. Let the world proletariat give ear to the voices of true revolutionists, the voices of those whose object is not political party power, but the success of the Social Revolution, and

to whom the Revolution is synonymous with human dignity, liberty and social regeneration.

May the proletariat of Europe and America, when the world revolution comes, choose a different road than the one followed by the Bolsheviki. The road of Bolshevism leads to the formation of a social régime with new class antagonisms and class distinctions; it leads to State capitalism, which only the blind fanatic can consider as a transition stage toward a free society in which all class differences are abolished.

State Communism, the contemporary Soviet government, is not and can never become the threshold of a free, voluntary, non-authoritarian Communist society, because the very essence and nature of governmental, compulsory Communism excludes such an evolution. Its consistent economic and political centralisation, its governmentalisation and bureaucratisation of every sphere of human activity and effort, its inevitable militarisation and degradation of the human spirit mechanically destroy every germ of new life and extinguish the stimuli of creative, constructive work.

It is the Communist Party dictatorship *itself* which most effectively hinders the further development and deepening of the Revolution.

The historic struggle of the laboring masses for liberty necessarily and unavoidably proceeds outside the sphere of governmental influence. The struggle against oppression — political, economic and social — against the exploitation of man by man, or of the individual by the government, is always simultaneously also a struggle against government as such. The political State, whatever its form, and constructive revolutionary effort are irreconcilable. They are mutually exclusive. Every revolution in the course of its development faces this alternative: to build freely, independent and despite of the government, or to choose government with all the limitation and stagnation it involves. The path of the Social Revolution, of the constructive self-reliance of the organised, conscious masses, is in the direction

of non-government, that is, of Anarchy. Not the State, not government, but systematic and coördinated social reconstruction by the toilers is necessary for the upbuilding of the new, free society. Not the State and its police methods, but the solidaric coöperation of all working elements — the proletariat, the peasantry, the revolutionary intelligentsia — mutually helping each other in their voluntary associations, will emancipate us from the State superstition and bridge the passage between the abolished old civilisation and Free Communism. Not by order of some central authority, but organically, from life itself, must grow up the closely-knit federation of the united industrial, agrarian, etc. associations; by the workers themselves must it be organised and managed, and then — and only then — will the great aspiration of labor for social regeneration have a sound, firm foundation. Only such an organisation of the commonwealth will make room for the really free, creative, new humanity, and will be the actual threshold of non-governmental, Anarchist Communism.

Thus, and only thus, can be completely swept away all the remnants of our old, dying civilisation, and the human mind and heart relieved of the varied poisons of ignorance and prejudice.

The revolutionary world proletariat must be permitted to hear this Anarchist voice, which cries to them — as of yore — from the depths, from the prison dungeons.

The world proletariat should understand the great tragedy of the toilers of Russia: the heart-breaking tragedy of the workers and peasants who bore the brunt of the Revolution and who find themselves now helpless in the iron clutch of an all-paralising State. The world proletariat must, ere too late, losen that stranglehold.

If not, then Soviet Russia, once the hearth of the Social Revolution of the world, will again become the world's haven of blackest reaction.

Moscow, June, 1921.

RAD:LM

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation.
Box 163 - Seattle, Wash.

18787

Attention of Mr. Hoover

WEDNESDAY
DECEMBER 27
JAN 6 1922
1923

Wm. J. Burns, Director
Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

61-291

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing herewith copy of a pamphlet entitled "The Kronstadt Rebellion" by Alexander Berkman, published in Berlin, Germany.

This is being for forwarded for your attention.

Very truly yours,

JAN 8 - 1923

JAN 11 1923

R. A. DARLING
Special Agent in Charge.

1 encl
Nd 1-3-23

61-291-101

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JAN 8 1923 A.M.
RECORDED
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVER | FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/16/76 BY 2233 Gajghs

Instructions re from Agent in Charge J. Walker.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT
Wash. D. C.	1/29/23	1/29/23	J. T. Flournoy.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:
RE: RUSSIAN REVOLUTION SERIES ALLEGED RADICAL PUBLICATION BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN

291

File 4112.

Wash. D. C.

ATTENTION MR. HOOVER.

JAN 29 1923

Reference is made to Bureau memorandum initialed TFB:GA, dated Jan. 27th, in which information is furnished that the Detroit office of this Bureau has reported that the publication known as the "Russian Revolution Series" is on sale in Detroit, of which Lillian Kisliuk, 1817 Kenyon St. Washington, D. C. is distributor. Agent will respectfully state that this publication has been the subject of report by this office, and reference is made to Agent's own reports made 9/8/22 and 10/27/22, in re: "Russian Revolution Series".

Agent would also refer to his own report made 4/12/22 in re: Lillian Kisliuk alias Platnik alias Platnick alias Kasseluck, in which report investigation is made as to the activities of Lillian Kisliuk.

For information of the Detroit office, Agent would respectfully state that Lillian Kisliuk is the recognized leader of the Communist Party, and has been the most active promotorof the "Friends of Soviet Russia Society", which has a local branch in this city. Lillian Kisliuk has also been the subject of investigation in connection with Anarchist activities, and during Agent's investigation of this matter made in Washington he has received information that she is possibly the half-sister of Emma Goldman. She is said to be the wife of Israel P.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FILE NO. 61-291-102

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO: FILE

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Wash. 3; Detroit 1; Office 1.

JTF:EDS

Dinowitzer, a hardware dealer in this city, and that she uses the name of Lillian Kisliuk as her pen name in her correspondence.

Agent has kept her under close observation for the past three years, and considers her one of the most dangerous "Anarchists" and "Communists" in the city of Washington.

No. 1 and No. 2 of the "Russian Revolution Series" has made its appearance in Washington, copies of which have been obtained and attached to reports made by this office. Agent understands from inquiries made a day or two ago, that copy No. 3 of the "Russian Revolution Series" has not as yet made its appearance, but it is expected that it will be on sale in this city during the early part of February. The author of the publication is Alexander Berkman, who was deported from this country with Emma Goldman in 1920.

Reports say that he lived for sometime in Moscow, after he was deported with his consort Emma Goldman, and that they were later on, driven out of Russia, and went to Sweden, and the last report that Agent had in the matter was that both are, at the present time in Berlin, Germany, or perhaps in Sweden. The "Russian Revolution Series" is apparently a publication of an Anarchist's ideas of Governmant, and in it, the Soviet Government of Russia, as well as the Communist Party, is freely criticised. Agent does not believe that the publication has found very extensive sale in this city. He has noticed Lillian Kisliuk offering the same for sale at meetings of the "Friends of Soviet Russia", "The Socialists", "The Workmen's Circle" and other Radical organizations, whose meetings have been covered from time to time by this Agent. Agent, however, noticed that there were very few who purchased the publication at these meetings which were composed entirely of Radicals. CLOSED

7—1169

61-291

FJB:GA

18728

January 27, 1953.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. WALKER

A report from the Detroit office of the Bureau advises that there is being distributed in that city a pamphlet entitled, "The Russian Revolution and the Communist Party", by Alexander Berkman. The back cover of this pamphlet contains the following information: "Copies of the Russian Revolution Series can be had at *** Lillian Kislink, 1217 Kenyon St., Washington, D. C. " This pamphlet is known as #2 of the Russian Revolution series.

Kindly have appropriate investigation of this subject made.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Kaj/pkl

RECORDED

61-291—103

MAILED
JAN 27 1953

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1923.

In reply refer to
U2

MAY 12 1923

Dear Mr. Burns:

Our friends in London have sent us an extract from a letter recently written by Emma Goldman. It may interest you as showing her present frame of mind.

Very truly yours,

W. Hurley

Enclosure:
As above.

JUN 18 1923

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

61-291

61-291-104
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAY 12 1923 P. M.
DEPART...
RECORDED
HOOVER FILE

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
MAY 15 1923

COPY.

We are all imprisoned now, each one in a different country. I myself feel perfectly desperate. The longer I live in Germany the less I see the possibility of my taking part in the movement, even if I had a legal right to remain here, and I have lost all hopes of returning to America. I depended much upon the publication of my book for a literary opening in the states. But even that seems remote. I have heard nothing definite from the McClure News Paper Syndicate although they have my Mss. five months. They have not even kept their part of the contract to pay the sum they agreed upon on the receipt of the Mss. In short the situation as far as I am concerned is desperate. It is no less so for comrade Berkman, except that for the present he is struggling with his book so he does not think of anything else. I dare say it will be as difficult to find a publisher for his Mss. as it is for mine. But at least B. is busy now, going through the same mental strain as I did last year.

I am so sorry that Freedom cannot be more at ease, it is dreadful and most discouraging that after so many years of struggle Freedom is still in such a precarious condition. I cannot understand what our people in America are doing, not a single paper there in the English language yet they do nothing, or very little for Freedom, it is very disheartening. I can fully understand how weary you must be from it all, yet you must continue dear comrade, there is no one else, at least you are on your own soil. I have come to realize that there is no greater punishment for an active spirit than to be torn out of ones sphere.

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Nov. 30, 1923.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Re: Emma Goldman - Anarchist.
Article Appearing in "New York American" of November 25, 1923.

Dear Sir:

I am attaching a page taken from the above mentioned publication concerning the book written by Emma Goldman, which article is self explanatory.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD J. BRENNAN,
Special Agent in Charge.

CJS: EJH
R-115-A
Encl.

GEN. INTELLIGENCE
DEC 1923
DIVISION

1-291

DEC 15 1923

61-291-105

RECORDED & INDEXED

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEC 1923
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVER | FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/79 BY 2333

EH:JWM
61-291-106

18790

February 5, 1924.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Miss Mary E. Hendrickson,
Galen Hall,
Atlantic City, N.J.

Dear Madam:

Your letter of December 31st, addressed to the Attorney General has been referred to me for attention.

You may be sure that the matter to which you refer is receiving our careful attention.

Very truly yours,

Director.

MAILE
FEB 4 1924

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/79 BY 2333 Gaj/ghe

Galen Hall
Atlantic City, N.J.

18791

FEB 1 3 1924

December 31, 1923.

61-291

61-291-106
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JAN 2 1924 P.M
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
HOOVER | FILE
RECORDED & INDEXED

The Honorable,
The Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

ack 1/5/24 NH

In view of the fact that Emma Goldman was deported from the United States and, I understand, may never return, why is she allowed to go on spreading her doctrines in this country?

Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., American publishers I suppose, are printing her book My Disillusionment in Russia. On the jacket, they print: "It might be run in headlines that EMMA GOLDMAN DENOUNCES BOLSHEVISM. . . . she has written a more sweeping and convincing indictment of Bolshevism than was ever conceived on this side of the water," and there is more of it.

She does condemn the Bolsheviki, but only because she says they are the cause of the failure of the Revolution (always with a capital R); she is and repeatedly says she is, an Anarchist and a revolutionist, sometimes using the term a "conscious Anarchist."

I close as I began: In view of the fact that she was deported from this country, and may not return, why is she allowed to, and why do supposed American publishers, continue to spread the doctrines which, presumably, led to her deportation?

Yours very truly,

(Miss) Mary N. Hendrickson,

Galen Hall,
Atlantic City, N. J.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
JAN 10 1924

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 16, 1924.

61-291

Dear Mr. Burns:

As of possible interest, I am enclosing herewith a copy of an article by Emma Goldman received from a reliable source in London.

I understand that British officials feel that this article may eventually find its way into some anarchist publication in the United States. Furthermore, they are inclined to feel that her arguments are sound.

Very truly yours,

Nathan Sturgis

William J. Burns, Esquire,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Enclosure.

U-2

APR 22 1924

RECORDED & INDEXED

Read By

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE
APR 13 1924
DIVISION

61-291-107
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 17 1924 P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
HOOVER | FILE

JUN 29 1972
MICROFILMED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

COPY

Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag.

During the first Congress of the Red Trade Union International, A. Lozovsky, chief of that organisation and his side used every device to impress the foreign delegates, especially the French delegation that the III International had no intention whatsoever to control the Red Trade Union International. Far from making it an adjunct, the Comintern welcomes the Profintern as an autonomous sister organisation and will work with it harmonously side by side.

We who lived at the time in Russia and were in close touch with the preparatory work for the forthcoming trade union congress know better. We know that the new born babe was to serve for blood transfusion into the anaemic body of the Comintern composed of a handful of intellectuals. In Russian Communist circles no secret was made of the intent and purpose to which the Comintern destined the Red Labor International. But it was necessary to make the foreign delegates, especially the French-Anarcho-Syndicalists, always opposed to any political sponsorship of their organization, believe that the Comintern was free from such designs, at least, until they will have been lured into the R.T.U.I.

I well remember my talk with the Russian-American D. Leonite, Reinstein, apropos of the relation between the Comintern and Profintern. For many years he had lived and had been active in the States as a rabid opponent of the Industrial Workers of the World and the Anarcho-Syndicalists. In 1917 Reinstein went to Russia and there was constantly paraded as the "Delegate of the American Proletariat". That was during

the

the blockade when it was very hard to enter Russia and other self-appointed American delegates had not yet found out how profitable it is to serve Moscow. Poor old Reinstein, what must he be doing now with so much American competition.

In 1921 Reinstein was head of the Anglo-American Department of the preparatory work for the Labour Congress. In speaking of it Reinstein said that it was really his suggestion which induced the Comintern in 1920 to take up the initiative of calling into life a new trade union International. It was indispensable to the Comintern if it is not to remain a mere political debating club, composed largely of Russians or such foreign Communists who had lived in Russia since 1917 and had been cut off from the rest of the world. "An organised workingmen's body of International scope" Reinstein said, "would give new, vigorous blood to the III International, thus making it a world power." The fate and function of the R.T.U.I. had been decided upon and carefully mapped out long before its birth.

It must be said, the Profintern does justice to its creators. It is not only in their image, it is the reflex of all the dreams and schemes of the Comintern. And those dreams are the dominion over the workers and their subjugation to the political state now known as "Leninism". And the Profintern is the medium which is to help secure that world dominion.

The delegates at the first Red Labour congress easily fell into the trap laid for them by Moscow. Some owing to their naive fate that the III International actually symbolised the Russian Revolution. Others, and they were in the majority, were shrewd enough to see the trick but decided it was wiser to serve the Moscow masters, than their organisations whom they had come

to

Page 2

to represent against an attempt to hitch the Red Labour International to the political cart. Besides all these, there were earnest men in the delegation who refused to be cajoled, mesmerized, or bribed, but they had very little chance to make themselves felt in the convention packed by fake delegates from such ultra industrial centers as Palestine, for instance, Bokara, or Adjerbedzhan.

Since then three years have passed. Again and again the Red Labor International has demonstrated who is master in its house and whose direction it must follow, directions which have spread chaos, confusion and distrust in the ranks of the International proletariat. Still, there are credulous people who hold tenaciously to the superstition that the Comintern is only the kind brother of the R.T.U.I. guiding and protecting his yet frail sister against her enemies. It may, therefore, be of interest to them to learn from the most authoritative Communist source and the head of the Profintern, A. Lozovsky, just what part the Comintern has already played and will play in the life of its "sister" organization.

The "PRAVDA" dedicated to the fifth anniversary of the III International contains an article by Lozovsky an exaltant tribute to the birthday child for its share and work of the Profintern. He writes among other things:

" In throwing out the slogan that the existing labour unions must be bored from within instead of forming new small revolutionary organizations, the Comintern has saved the entire trade union movement from compete ruin and extinction.....

The III International deserves the great credit not only for the initiator of the Profintern but also for being the director

director of its course and its activities.....

It is only necessary to examine carefully the work done by the Profintern since its inception, the resolutions and decisions of the Central Soviet and its Politbureau to realize at once how interwoven the two Internationals are. In fact, all the resolutions were conceived by the Comintern in line with its aims and methods..... Just as the Profintern could not have been born without its parent who gave it life, so too, it could not continue to exist and function without the directing force behind it, namely, the III International and the Communist Party in every country..... It is precisely this close inter-relation of political concepts and ideas between the two organizations which calls forth the attacks of the Anarchists upon the Comintern..... But we have no time to listen to reformist and Anarchist babblers. The Comintern is too busy creating a united(?) revolutionary fist against the reformist block of Amsterdam and the II International.

The Comintern has never considered the labour movement a prohibited field which communists may enter only by giving up their programs and methods..... The Reformists and Anarchists constantly demand that of us. But the Comintern can and will never comply with such a proposition. The aim of our party is to capture the majority of the working class and to organize the revolution for which the trade unions are indispensable. But the latter are not considered by the Comintern as an end, they are merely the means to the end, the end being the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is for this very reason that the Comintern

must

Page 4

must wage war on the slogan of the French Anarcho Syndicalists, the slogan, "All Power to the Syndicalists....."

Since 1921 Lozovsky has learned to tell the truth sometimes. He has let the cat out of the Communist bag. In other words he openly declares that the Comintern never entertained the slightest idea of recognising the aims and activities of the Profintern as anything separate and distinct from its own aims, to which everything else must be subordinated. And that aim is, as Lozovsky himself emphasises, the capture of political power and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Some day the workers are sure to wake up to the full meaning of this dictatorship. They will then see that they have been serving as marionettes on the Communist stage which is rehearsing the repetition of the Russian drama, the drama that has crushed the revolution, has stifled thought and actions of the masses, created a system of political persecution hardly known in the world, before - the tragedy of Capitalism reinstated and triumphant in Russia once more.

One would have to despair utterly in the possibilities of the masses if one did not believe fervently that that awakening will come.

Emma Goldman.

BERLIN, March, 1924.

Page 5

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON
May 15, 1924.

61-291

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am very anxious to send a copy of Emma Goldman's book "My Disillusionment in Russia", to London where I believe it will be of great interest to one of our sources of information.

Have you an available copy which you could let me have for this purpose? If so, I would greatly appreciate your sending it to me.

Very truly yours,

Charles Evans Hughes

J. E. Hoover, Esquire,
Acting Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

U-2

ack 5/23/24

MAY 27 1924

TFB:JWM
61-291-108

MAY 27 1924

May 23, 1924.

Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 15th instant, referring to Emma Goldman's book "MY DISILLUSIONMENT IN RUSSIA".

I do not have a copy of this book, but should copies be secured in any manner, in the future, I will be very glad to forward one to you.

Very truly yours,

Acting Director.

EMMA GOLDMAN

Exhibit I.

Ex. 2.

Monday, July 9, 1917.

18797

Present; Hon. Julius M. Mayer, J.

61-291

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

vs. 9-474.

EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEX BERKMAN.

Alex Berkman sums up.
Emma Goldman sums up.
Mr. H. A. Content sums up.
Charge officer sworn- Jury retire and upon their return say they find the defendants guilty as charged.
On motion of U. S. Attorney Ordered sentence,
Deft. Emma Goldman arraigned states to the court that she was born in Russia, Town of Keva about 1869. Not married. Mother living in Rochester, N. Y.
Not a citizen of the United States by her own application.
Deft. Alexander Berkman arraigned and states to the Court that he was born in Russia about 48 years age, in St. Petersburgh, single- parents dead and that he is not a citizen of the U. S.
Emma Goldman sentenced to be imprisoned for two years and to pay a fine of $10,000. and to stand committed until fine be paid or she is otherwise discharged according to law.
Sentenced to be executed in the Jefferson City Penitentiary, Jefferson City, Mo.
Alexander Berkman sentenced to be imprisoned for two years and to pay a fine of $10,000. and to stand committed until fine be paid or he is otherwise discharged according to law. Sentenced to be executed in the U. S. Pen. Atlanta, Ga.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, } *ss.:*

I, ALEXANDER GILCHRIST, Jr., Clerk of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, do hereby Certify that the Writings annexed to this Certificate viz. Minutes of Proceedings in Court on July 9, 1917 in the case of United States of America vs Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

have been compared by me with their original minutes remaining ~~on file and remaining~~ *of record in my office; that they are correct transcripts therefrom and of the whole of the said originals.*

In Testimony Whereof *I have hereunto subscribed my name and affixed the seal of the said Court at the City of New York, in the Southern District of New York, this* 1st *day of*

in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and , *and of the Independence of the said United States the one hundred and forty-*

Clerk.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.
(Criminal Branch).

UNITED STATES vs. EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN.	BEFORE HON. JULIUS M. MAYER, J., and a Jury.

NEW YORK, July 9, 1917.

STENOGRAPHER'S MINUTES

INDEX

TESTIMONY OF	DIRECT	CROSS	RE-DIRECT	RE-CROSS
(Pedigree of defendant Emma Goldman, appearing at pages 812 and 813 of the official stenographic record of the trial.)				

NOTARY PUBLIC { NEW YORK COUNTY
KINGS COUNTY
BRONX COUNTY

TELEPHONE, 1412 CORTLANDT

WM. J. FINERTY
STENOGRAPHER
UNITED STATES COURTS
U. S. COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
POST OFFICE BUILDING (DOWN TOWN)
NEW YORK

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

(Criminal Branch)

UNITED STATES vs. EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN.	18799 BEFORE: Hon. JULIUS M. MAYER, J., and a Jury.

New York, July 9, 1917, 6 p.m.

* * * * * * * *

THE CLERK: Miss Emma Goldman to the bar. Where were you born?

MISS GOLDMAN: Russia.

THE CLERK: When?

MISS GOLDMAN: 1869.

THE CLERK: Where, in Russia?

MISS GOLDMAN: Town of Kovno.

THE CLERK: Are you married or single?

MISS GOLDMAN: Single.

THE CLERK: Parents living?

MISS GOLDMAN: Mother living.

THE CLERK: Where, may I ask?

MISS GOLDMAN: Rochester, New York.

THE CLERK: Are you a citizen of the United States?

MISS GOLDMAN: Not by my own application; from my father.

18800

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT,

SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK.

(Criminal Branch)

18801

UNITED STATES vs. EMMA GOLDMAN and ALEXANDER BERKMAN.	BEFORE: HON. JULIUS M. MAYER, J., and a Jury.

I HEREBY CERTIFY that the foregoing is a correct and accurate transcript of that part or portion of the minutes of the proceedings which took place at the trial of the above entitled case, and as appears at pages 812 and 813 of the official copy of the stenographic record containing the entire proceedings of the trial of the above entitled case, as reported and transcribed under my supervision.

Stenographer United States District Court for the Southern District of New York.

Dated, New York, October 1st, 1919.

18796

January 6, 1925.

61-291

Mr. Arthur Bliss Lane,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Lane:

I am in receipt of information from a confidential source to the effect that M. RUBINSKIN alias GAIDUK who was editor of the "AMERIKANSKYA IZVESTIA" an anarchist publication published in New York City has stated that he has received a letter from Emma Goldman in which was expressed a desire to go to Mexico City, Mexico where together with certain other persons she will assist in the publishing of a newspaper.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Bajgh

RECORDED & INDEXED

61-291-109
BUR. OF INVESTIGATION
JAN 7 1925
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FILE

OFFICE OF
THE UNDERSECRETARY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 27, 1926.

61-291

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I am sending you herewith a copy of a despatch dated October 21, which has been received from the American Consul at Kingston, Canada, regarding Emma Goldman who may apply for a visa to enter the United States.

Very truly yours,

A. Kirk

J. E. Hoover, Esquire,
Director, Bureau ofInvestigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

NOV 2 1926

Enclosure.
311.6124 Goldman, E.

RECORDED & INDEXED

61-291-110
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 28 1926 A.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Div. Two | FILE

No. 1095

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Kingston, Canada, October 21, 1926

SUBJECT: Emma Goldman

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to state that my attention has been directed to the recent arrival in this Country of Emma Goldman, a notorious anarchist. Emma Goldman, whose home was in Rochester seven years ago and was deported by the United States Government, will, it is stated, make an attempt to re-enter the United States, claiming she is now a British subject by virtue of her marriage to one James Colton, a coal miner of Scotland. In all probability Emma Goldman will try to have her name entered on the waiting list of an American Consulate along the border or seek to have her British passport visaed.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

61-291-110

61-291-111

ENCLOSURE

HOTEL BLACKSTONE

Manhattan Beach N.Y.

TELEPHONES: ESPLANADE 3000-3001-3002

61-291

RECORDED

Sunday

Mr. J. E. Hoover,
Washington, D.C.

File

NOV 8 1926 P.M.

Div. One

FILE

Dear Sir:

You remember I told you about six years ago about Emma Goldman trying to induce a N.Y. boy to go to Norway to marry her so she could return?

I also worked with some others on this - especially Hon. J. C. Bane the pgh lawyer. Result, change in law.

Now she is "British".

Yours.
Cope

1 Encl
2.5
WHW

FLAPPER BEST WIFE, EMMA GOLDMAN IDEA

She Believes Modern U. S. Girl with Knowledge of World Will Make Ideal Mother

MONTREAL, Nov. 6.—If James Colton, Welsh coal miner who Emma Goldman, noted anarchist, claims is her husband, was reticent about discussing his marriage, Miss Goldman is not. She said today:

"I was married to Mr. Colton on June 27, 1925, at Glenamman, Wales. I traveled here on a passport containing both his name and my own. I am now, of course, a British subject, due to my marriage."

NOTES ADVANCEMENT.

Discussing marriage and modern tendencies, Miss Goldman found the women of today far advanced over those of a generation ago. She said:

"There never was a time when a finer and more understanding comradeship existed between man and woman than at the present day. Women are freer to mingle with male friends and acquaintances in their work and play.

"As for the modern young woman, the flapper, I think she will make a far better wife and mother than the girls of a generation ago, who were kept in ignorance of the world."

OPPOSES ALIMONY.

Miss Goldman believes divorce should be made accessible to all parties, but thinks that, except when there are children, or when a wife is unable to earn her way, there should be no alimony.

Speaking of the United States, to which she has been denied readmittance, Miss Goldman said America is disgracefully adolescent, harboring both the generosity and the mischief that goes with adolescense.

Department of Justice,

Bureau of Investigation.
418 Federal Bldg.,
Buffalo, New York.

March 28, 1927.

Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Attention -Division #2

I am enclosing herewith for your information clipping taken from the Buffalo Evening News, of March 24, 1927 pertaining to Emma Goldman.

Truly yours,

M.F.Blackmon
Special Agent in Charge

61-291

MFB/CMR

RECORDED

MAR 31 1927

61-291-112

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Daylgh

Buffalo Evening News.
3-24-27

CLERIC STIRRED BY CONVICTION FOR BLASPHEMY

Toronto Preacher, While Regretting Language Used by Sterry, Deplores Existence of Law Which Forbids Free Speech—Raising Fund.

Special to the Buffalo Evening News.

TORONTO, March 24.—When, a few days ago, Ernest Sterry was convicted in a Toronto court on a charge of blasphemous libel and sentenced to 60 days in jail, the public displayed only apathy and indifference.

Sterry, a stormy petrel in England, his birthplace, and later in New Zealand and New York, had published a paper called The Christian Inquirer, in which he had referred to God as "this irate old party," and in other terms of similar disrepect. The judge, while admitting freedom of opinion, said it was for the jury to decide whether Sterry's expressions were "decent." The jury decided they were not and that he was therefore guilty of blasphemous libel—the first case of its kind in Canada.

Sterry also had been convicted of theft of $200 from a Chinaman, the charge arising out of a somewhat involved real estate transaction. So the public was not inclined to get excited over his fresh conviction, particularly as it added nothing to the punishment already imposed for the theft charge.

But along comes Emma Goldman, the anarchist, who has been touring Canada lecturing on literature and the drama. Sterry once sold pamphlets for her in New York.

Emma immediately dropped the drama to take up the case of Sterry's conviction.

Emma to the Defense.

"It is an outrage, and I am surprised that public opinion here was not sufficiently aroused to make an effective protest," she asserted. Everyone who has a desire to call his mind his own has an interest in stopping such shootings in a cellar.

"The Sterry verdict is a blow against all freedom of thought and speech. I could have expected it to happen in Bolshevist Russia, or some parts of the United States, but I did not think that Toronto was quite Tennessee."

Support came unexpectedly from the Rev. W. A. Cameron, one of Toronto's foremost preachers, an orthodox and somewhat conservative minister in the Baptist church. In a prepared statement he said, in part:

"I was surprised to discover that a law was on the statute books of this country which permitted the crown to prosecute a citizen for his religious opinions or the crudity of the form in which they were expressed. Of course, I share the regret of the crown and the presiding judge that these religious views were expressed in language unworthy of the discussion of religious opinion. But I maintain that the issue at stake is a far more vital and serious one than most people seem to imagine.

Minister Hits at Law.

"Here is a man in a free country, where no state church exists, brought into court because of the manner in which he expressed his religious views. Can anyone suppose for a moment that such a thing could have occurred in England with the existence of a state church? Our fathers have purchased our religious freedom at tremendous cost. Surely we are not going to surrender it now.

"Religious persecution by civil authority is a return to the old days of religious slavery.

"Courts and judges are not appointed to interpret the doctrine of God or correct views of the scripture.

"Surely it is an amazing thing to discover a law in Ontario that permits the courts to come to the defense of God."

Now a fund is being raised to appeal Sterry's conviction. Clarence Darrow may yet get a chance to appear in a Canadian court in a cause celebre.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Ill.

REPORT MADE AT:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:	REPORT MADE BY:
Butte, Montana	10-17-27	10-15-27	D. H. Dickason

TITLE:	CHARACTER OF CASE:
ALEXANDER BERKMAN	Immigration Matter

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

39-36

No information that BERKMAN has ever been in Montana district. Story regarding wife of ALBERT KEENE being illegitimate daughter of EMMA GOLDMAN exploded long ago. No other leads in this district. Citations of former reports made herein touching this matter. R.U.C.

Reference: Report of Agent Bolling, Chicago, 10-1-27

3/16/79 2333

DETAILS:

At Butte, Montana.

The man referred to (ALEXANDER BERKMAN) is not shown by any files in this office to have been in Montana. The greater time that EMMA GOLDMAN was in Colorado and when she was here, her manager was BEN REITHMAN and the couple was often seen in Colorado by me.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: D. H. Dickason SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	61-291-	RECORDED AND INDEXED:
WASHINGTON REFERENCE: #2	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: Butte.-Chicago.2.-New York.-Wn.3	BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION / DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	CHECKED OFF: / JACKETED:
		ROUTED TO: / FILE	

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 7—1323

"The Proprietor of the Chicago Shoe Store," mentioned in Agent Bolling's report, is ALBERT KEENE, whose old country name was ELI KUSMINOW. In some extravagant reports he was supposed to be in some illegal transactions with L.C.A.K. MARTENS as northwestern representative for him. An investigation by me, made 9-26-21, captioned: "NAUM ERSHOVSKY" shows that KEENE was dealing with MARTENS as a representative of CAPTAIN GEORGE C. BOSSON, JR. and one MONT APPEAL, dealing in Government shoes and that one transaction involved 365,000 pairs of these shoes. He submitted documentary evidence that such was his doings. He does not belong to any radical organizations and he has made a success of his businesses and now has a number of stores and is considered one of the leading Jewish business men of this section. He was a personal friend of Congressman MONDELL, who had him on a lecture tour with him in 1908 and 1909 in Wyoming.

As to the parentage of his wife, the hoary canard as to same is disposed of in the following last paragraph, Page 7, of the report referred to:

"As to the parentage of his wife, both he and his wife, he calling her to talk with me, told me that she is the daughter of HIRSCH EDELSTAT, brother of ABE EDELSTAT, and ZLATA EDELSTAT, wife of HIRSCH; that she was born at Cincinnati, Ohio, 7-20-84; that her mother died soon after, her father re-married and she lived with her uncle and aunt, MR. and MRS. ABE EDELSTAT; that her father used to be employed at the Insane Asylum at Warm Springs, Montana; that her mother was born in Russia and was in no way related to EMMA GOLDMAN."

This matter was checked up and seems to be undisputed, as her uncle, EDELSTAT, is a reliable business man here and her father worked at the state institution as is stated and is well known in Butte.

Referred back to Office of Origin (CHICAGO) - no further action here.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

ORL-

133149-

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FMP-ZCB

March 12, 1930.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

There is transmitted herewith a copy of a letter received from Mr. H. L. Mencken, 1524 Hollins Street, Baltimore, Maryland, relative to the desire of Emma Goldman, the anarchist, now in Paris, to have certain papers returned to her, which, she contends, were seized in 1917 at the time of the raid on the Mother Earth office in New York and are now supposed to be in the custody of this Department. In particular, she desires the return of the manuscript of a book on American literature, and a manuscript dealing with Nietzsche.

Will you please advise me whether there are any documents in the Bureau files seized at the time of the above raid and which belong to Emma Goldman?

Respectfully,

O. R. LUHRING,
Assistant Attorney General.

61-291-114

Inclosure #455274.

14

MAR 13 1930

MAR 21 1930

2

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

ORL-

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

FMP-ZCB

March 21, 1930.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

I have your memorandum of the 18th instant, stating that after a thorough search the records and manuscripts desires by Emma Goldman were not found in the Bureau files.

Will you please advise me whether any inquiry has been made of the appropriate Bureau field office as to whether the documents desired might be in their files?

Respectfully,

O. R. LUHRING,
Assistant Attorney General.

3/16/79 2333 Gaylord

61-2711

MAR 26 1930

TVB:KP
61-291-114

March 18, 1930

RECORDED

MAR 21 1930

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL LUHRING.

Reference is made to your memorandum dated March 12, 1930, initialed FMP, Department file #135149, having attached copy of a letter received from Mr. H.L. Mencken, 1524 Hollins Street, Baltimore, Md., relative to the desire of Emma Goldman, the anarchist, now in Paris, to have certain papers returned to her that she contends were seized in 1917 and are now supposed to be in the custody of the Department of Justice.

A thorough search has been made of the Bureau files, but the manuscripts referred to in your memorandum have not been found, nor has any property of Emma Goldman been found therein.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
3/16/79 2333 Gajlghr

BUREAU FILES DIVISION
MAILED
MAR 18 1930
P. M.
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

H. L. MENCKEN
1524 HOLLINS ST.
BALTIMORE.

133149-

Baltimore, March 8th, 1930

Dear Sir:-

The following is submitted as a petition:

In January last, in Paris, I had a meeting with Emma Goldman, the anarchist, who is now living there. She has a British passport and is unmolested by the French police. She desires a visa to visit the United States, where she spent most of her youth and has many friends, and I am petitioning the Acting Secretary of State that it be granted.

In 1917, at the time of the raid on the Mother Earth office in New York, certain of her private papers were seized, and are still, she believes, in the custody of the Department of Justice. She now desires to recover them, and has asked me to petition you to that end. I'll be glad to submit any evidence or argument that you may deem proper. In particular, she desires the return of the MS. of a book on American literature, and of a MS. dealing with Nietzsche.

I am appearing in the matter because of my interest in her purely literary work, and because she wants her case presented by someone not associated with her political views.

Very truly yours,

H. L. Mencken

The Attorney-General,
Washington, D.C.

Mr. Baughman –

Mr. Conlon requests that you please handle this matter. Mr. Leyfarth has had search made of files at Va. Ave – & this seems to be the only correspondence in the matter.

K.P.

TYB:KP
61-291-[illegible]

March 25, 1930

Mr. C. B. McKeen,
P.O. Box 70,
Wall Street Station,
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

The Bureau is in receipt of a memorandum from Assistant Attorney General Luhring, advising that a letter has been received in the Department concerning certain papers alleged to have been seized in 1917 in a raid on the "Mother Earth" office in New York, these papers being the property of EMMA GOLDMAN. In particular, reference is made to the manuscript of a book on American literature, and a manuscript dealing with Nietzsche.

A search has been made of the Bureau's file, but the documents referred to have not been found therein. The Department has requested that a search be made of the file in your office to ascertain whether the manuscripts referred to are contained therein.

Please give this matter your prompt attention and advise the Bureau the result.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 [illegible]

Director.

RECORDED 61-291-116

Agent Tucker also searched the files of the United States Attorney's Office for the Southern District of New York and failed to find any record of the papers referred to.

Very truly yours,

C. D. McKean

C. D. McKEAN
Special Agent in Charge

HHR

TFB:KP
61-291-115

March 24, 1930

RECORDED

MAR 26 1930

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL LUHRING.

Receipt is acknowledged of your memorandum dated March 21, 1930, initialed HFP, relative to a search made in the Bureau in an endeavor to secure information concerning the records and manuscripts desired by EMMA GOLDMAN, and alleged to have been seized in 1917 at the "Mother Earth" office in New York.

A letter is being directed to the New York office of the Bureau, requesting that a search be made of the records of that office in an endeavor to obtain information concerning the manuscripts referred to.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/94 BY 2333 Sgj/gh

3

U. S. Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Post Office Box #70,
Wall Street Station,
New York, New York .

JGT:OB

April 7, 1930

Div. Four

APR 9

291

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to your communication of March 25th directing that a search be made of the files in this office to ascertain whether they contained certain documents, the property of Emma Goldman, consisting of a manuscript of a book on American Literature and a manuscript dealing with "Nietzsche", both of which are alleged to have been seized in a raid on the office of "Mother Earth" in New York City in 1917.

A search of the files in this office fails to disclose any trace of the documents referred to. The raid on the office of "Mother Earth" was made on June 15, 1917 by United States Marshal Thomas McCarthy and members of the Bomb Squad of the New York Police who at the time apprehended Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, at the same time seizing a number of papers and books and the complaint on which the warrants of arrest were issued and sworn to by George D. Barnitz, since deceased, who was then a member of the Bomb Squad.

The case was prosecuted by Assistant U. S. Attorney Harold Content and Agent Tucker, of this office who was present during the entire trial, in handling a great many of the papers involved in the case, states that he never saw any manuscripts of Miss Goldman. Mr. Content stated that he had no knowledge of these papers and Detective McCarthey of the New York Police Department who was also present during the trial had no recollection of them.

APR 16 1930

4-14-30

TFB:KP
61-291-118

April 8, 1930

Mr. C. D. McKean,
P.O. Box 70,
Wall St. Station,
New York City, N.Y.

61-291

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated March 25, 1930, requesting that a search be made of the files in your office for the purpose of ascertaining whether they contain certain papers alleged to have been seized in 1917 in a raid on the "Mother Earth" office in New York, these papers being the property of EMMA GOLDMAN.

To date the Bureau has received no reply from you concerning this matter.

Very truly yours,

Director.

RECORDED

61-291-118
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 9 1930 A. M.

INDEXED

DATE 3/16/79 2333 Gaj/ghw

TFB:KP
61-291-117

April 14, 1930

RECORDED
APR 16 1930

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL LUHRING.

Reference is made to your memoranda of March 12th and March 21st, 1930, Department file 133149, relative to the desire of EMMA GOLDMAN to have certain papers returned to her, which she contends were seized in 1917 and are now supposed to be in the custody of the Department of Justice.

There is attached hereto, for your information, copy of a letter from the Special Agent in Charge of the New York City office of the Bureau, dated April 7, 1930. It will be noted in this letter that no manuscripts belonging to Miss Goldman appear to be contained in the files of the New York office.

Very truly yours,

Incl. #454562

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Gaj/ghd

U. S. Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Post Office Box #70
Wall Street Station
New York, New York

HIR:RD

April 9, 1930

61-291

Director
Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Receipt is acknowledged of your communication of the 8th instant advising you had received no reply to your letter of March 25th, 1930 in which you asked information as to certain papers, seized in 1917 in a raid on the "Mother Earth" office in New York, these papers being the property of Emma Goldman.

On April 7, 1930 a reply went forward from this office covering your request and should have reached you prior to the mailing of your letter of the 8th instant. If you have not received this please advise and a copy will be transmitted immediately.

Very truly yours,

H. H. Reinecke

H. H. Reinecke
Acting Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Gaj/gkw

APR 14 1930

61-291-119
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
APR 10 1930
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Dir. Rom | FILE

The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York.

George A. Patton
Manager
Columbus, Ohio.

Mt. Vernon, Ohio.

May 13, 1936.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
c/o Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly advise the proper authority with whom toget in communication regarding activities of a bootleg ring. It is quite evident there is activity along this linein central Ohio, as a particular friend of mine whose son found upon their farm five empty five gal. cans and several bottles where it is evidentthe liquor was transferred from the tin cans to the bottles, one of which bears the label of a brand carried in the State Liquor stores, known as "Kentucky Derby".

The label is a very good facsimile of the labels on the bottles carried in the State Liquor Stores, and put out by the Glenmore Distilling Company, Owensboro, Kentucky, and the bottle has the wording blown in the glass calling attention to the non-use of the same.

Trusting you will advise me, or else pass this information along to the proper authority.

Respectully yours,

C Pratt Ward.

CPW:WG

P. S. Approximately a year ago the newspapers reported Emma Goldman had entered this country by special permit. I havenever noticed where the newspapers carried a report that she had left the country. Has her permission expired and if so, what has become of her?

CPW

ORIGINAL FILED IN 53-0-1657

RECORDED
DATE: 1/19/59
8

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

JUN 6 1936

61-291-120
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
MAY 20 1936 A. M.
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
ONE TWO FILE

61-291

[redacted]

Week of Oct 10/31

You Know This Woman

This is the back cover of the Publisher's Weekly N.Y. City.

For fifty years she fought bitterly against a world whose standards she could not accept. She was implicated in the assassination of a president and admittedly responsible for acts of gravest violence. She was arrested for lecturing on Ibsen, yet was never punished for her part in the attempted murder of a great industrialist. She edited a magazine and experienced all the horrors of solitary prison confinement. She had dozens of lovers yet never believed herself unfaithful to her first great love. She had practically no schooling, yet she writes vibrant, vivid prose, potent and chaste.

You may wish to know the contents of this publication before it is scattered broadcast among impressionable Americans.

SHE IS EMMA GOLDMAN

who, after fifty turbulent years, has paused to write their thrilling history. Omitting no detail, however intimate, she pours forth the true story of a career that has always been front page copy. Justly enough, she calls this memoir

Living My Life

To be published Oct. 23rd. 13 illustrations; 6¼" x 9½" 993 pp. and index. Two volumes, $7.50

I am sending this for your information lest you may not know of it.

ALFRED · A · KNOPF
730 FIFTH AVENUE · N · Y ·

an Alien American

RIDER PRESS, INC., NEW YORK

18808

BROOKLYN, N.Y.
OCT 14
930 P M
1931

NOT
Y
CORRES NTS
OF
OF A

Chief of Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

STANDA . ORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: November 28, 1956

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: *Emma Goldman*
Alexander Berkman

There are attached excerpts concerning the above-captioned case taken from "The FBI Story, A Report to the People," by Don Whitehead published by Random House, 1956. These excerpts are from page(s) *34, 47, 48, 49, 331, 332* of the book.

The full text of the book may be found in the FBI Library.

Enclosure

61-211-

NOT RECORDED
18 MAR 19 1957

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/14/99 BY 2333
Daj/ghw

ENCLOSURE

66 MAR 19 1957

While councils such as the Henry County Committee of Patriots were going to one extreme, there were others working at the opposite pole. In New York, Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, long-time anarchists, formed the No-Conscription League, with promises of help to those who refused to register and be drafted.

Excerpt from page 34 of "The FBI Story, A Report to the People" by Don Whitehead

One of Palmer's first targets was the Federation of the Union of Russian Workers, which was composed primarily of aliens who had taken no steps, after five years' residence in this country, to obtain American citizenship. The Secretary of Labor ruled that these aliens were subject to deportation on the ground that the Federation advocated violent overthrow of the United States Government.[2] The Labor Department itself had not acted in this field because Congress had refused to appropriate money for enforcement of the deportation laws. However, the Labor Department issued warrants by which agents of the Bureau of Investigation and the Immigration Bureau rounded up

Excerpt from page 47

ENCLOSURE
61-391-

more than 250 Federation officers and members in twelve different cities. This was the first of the so-called "Palmer Red Raids."

The final roundup included Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, two admitted anarchists who had been convicted during the war of a conspiracy to persuade men not to register for the draft. In this trial, the two of them argued that their speeches and writings were individual acts and their own expressions against war—not a conspiracy. But the Supreme Court affirmed their conviction, which carried a penalty for each of them of two years in prison and fines of $10,000.

Goldman and Berkman had been anarchists for years. The government alleged that it was Emma Goldman's inflammatory speeches and writings which influenced Leon Czolgosz to kill President McKinley. As for Berkman, he had walked into the office of steel magnate Henry C. Frick during the 1892 Homestead Steel strike, and shot him. Berkman regarded Frick as a tyrant. He later wrote in his book, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist:* "The removal of a tyrant is not merely justifiable; it is the highest duty of every true revolutionist. Human life is, indeed, sacred and inviolate. But the killing of a tyrant, of an enemy of the people, is in no way to be considered as the taking of a life."

Goldman and Berkman were given deportation hearings at Ellis Island and the government's cases were presented by young J. Edgar Hoover. Both anarchists were ordered deported and the Supreme Court affirmed the decision.[8]

The U. S. Army solved the problem of how these revolutionaries would be deported to Russia. A transport, the *Buford,* was provided and 249 aliens were put aboard the ship, which the press promptly labeled the "Soviet Ark."

Several congressmen went from Washington to New York to observe the ship's sailing. When Emma Goldman left the transfer boat and prepared to board the ship, one of the congressmen said: "Merry Christmas, Emma." She returned the greeting by thumbing her nose at him.

Berkman was wearing high Russian boots, khaki pants and coat and a sombrero hat. He was issuing orders as the boss man of the group. And then he saw Bureau Chief Flynn and some of his agents. Berkman shook his fist at them.

"We'll come back," Berkman shouted. "And when we do, we'll get you ———!"[4]

The New York *Herald* reported: "Chief Flynn was so much impressed by the threat that he offered Berkman a cigar. He is so used to threats against his life that the outburst of the anarchist seemed to make him feel at home."

All the deportees seemed to have been supplied with plenty of money. One man asked Hoover to cash a $3,000 check. Hoover suggested he send it to his friends and have them cash it.

Page 48 of "The FBI Story, A Report to the People" by Don Whitehead

"I wouldn't trust you people to give it to my friends," the man said.
"All right," Hoover replied, "take it to Russia and trust the bolsheviki."

The "Soviet Ark" sailed on December 21, 1919, for Russia.

Excerpt from page 49 of "The FBI Story, A Report to the People" by Don Whitehead

[4] Goldman and Berkman became disillusioned with Russia. They soon realized that the land of the Soviets was not the great hope of mankind they had thought. Goldman wrote: ". . . I had erred grievously when I had defended Lenin and his party as the true champions of the Revolution." In 1921 they left Russia and wandered from country to country. Goldman lived in Germany and England and finally came to Canada. In 1934 she obtained permission for a ninety-day visit to the United States, where she delivered a series of lectures. In New York City she met George Sokolsky, nationally syndicated columnist, who was giving a speech in an adjoining room. She told Sokolsky she wanted to die in the United States. She returned to Canada, where she died in 1940. Berkman committed suicide in 1936 at Nice, France.

Excerpts from pages 331, 332 of "The FBI Story, A Report to the People" by Don Whitehead

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~DELETE~~

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-95)
(100-410041)

2/26/62

SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-32495)
(100-47307)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ATTACKS AGAINST THE FBI
SM - C

FRONTIER MAGAZINE
INFORMATION CONCERNING

Remylet 9/27/61 bearing above dual caption.

For the information of the Bureau, there are being forwarded as enclosures to this letter two photostats of pages fourteen and fifteen from the February, 1962 issue of "Frontier" magazine, volume thirteen, number four; published monthly at Los Angeles.

Re: Emma Goldman

The Bureau will note that the enclosed photostats cover a book review by one DONALD MEYER of the book "Rebel in Paradise" published by the University of Chicago Press. MEYER is described at the bottom of page fourteen as "Associate Professor of History in UCLA" (University of California at Los Angeles). In this review MEYER makes derogatory references to the Director in column three on page fourteen.

On the basis of available information, it does not appear that DONALD MEYER, author of this book review, is identical with DONALD ROBERT MEYER recently cancelled Security Index subject (subject of Bufile 100-416798; Los Angeles file 100-42085). No investigation concerning DONALD MEYER, Associate Professor of History, has been conducted by this office and only other identifiable references to him in the Los Angeles indices concern additional contributions to "Frontier" magazine made by him. The above is being furnished for the Bureau's information and no investigation of MEYER is contemplated.

The original issue of the February, 1962 "Frontier" magazine was furnished SA GILBERT G. BENJAMIN by LA 4138-S and will be maintained as an exhibit in Los Angeles file 100-47307-1B.

4 - Bureau (100-3-95)(100-410041)(Encls.-2)(AM)(REGISTERED)
3 - Los Angeles
(1 - 100-32495)
(1 - 100-47307)

FOIA(b)(7) - (D)

GGB:sjm
(7)

61-291-
NOT RECORDED
199 MAR 14 1962

~~DELETE~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND BUREAU OFFICES

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

REASON - FOIA: 1, 1-2, 4, 7 (2)
DATE OF REVIEW 2/26/82

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10

UNITED STATES GOVEI

Memorandum

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Malone
Rosen
Sullivan
Tave.
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: 3/6/62

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: RICHARD DRINNON
AUTHOR "REBEL IN PARADISE"

By letter of February 26, the Los Angeles Office forwarded a copy of a review of the above book which appeared in the "Frontier Magazine" and was authored by Donald Meyer, Associate Professor of History at University of California at Los Angeles. "Rebel in Paradise" published by the University of Chicago Press, deals with a biography of Emma Goldman, a Russian immigrant who was later deported by the Federal Government for anarchist activities. In this connection, Meyer in his review stated "They finally got her out, in 1919, with the help of evidence carefully doctored by the General Intelligence Division, headed by a rising young police-bureaucrat named J. Edgar Hoover. After that, back to Russia."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Haigh

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

Bufiles contain no information which can be identified with Donald Meyer, Associate Professor of History at University of California at Los Angeles. Bufiles contain no reference to the book, "Rebel in Paradise," but Bufiles contain numerous references to its author, Richard Drinnon.

The "San Francisco News-Call Bulletin" on 2/1/61 published an article entitled "UC Moves to Drop Liberal Professor" which stated that Richard T. Drinnon, aged 33, Assistant Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley, California, had his contract cancelled on the grounds that he neglected scholarly research as a faculty member and never had any of his works published.

The article went on to state that Drinnon was a faculty member who had been associated with numerous controversial campus causes in recent years. He is a critic of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the campus advisor to "Slate," a student political group from which the University has withdrawn recognition, and permission to operate on the campus.

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

61-291-

NOT RECORDED
109 MAR 14 1962

The article advised that Drinnon stated that four different publishers are considering publishing a book on which he has been doing research since 1958, which is a biography of Emma Goldman, a Russian-born anarchist who was deported from the United States after World War I.

1 - Mr. Sullivan

JMM:jrb (6)

MAR 14 1962

MAR 13 1962

CRIME RESEARCH

(Continued on page 2)

Bufiles also revealed that Richard Tweed Drinnon was born 1/4/25 at Portland, Oregon, was an instructor of history at the University of California and has not been investigated by the FBI.

Bufiles reveal that on 2/14/58 a debate on the subject "Is Russia a Socialist Society?" was held at the University of California under the sponsorship of the Young Socialist League (YSL), which debate was moderated by Drinnon. The YSL, now defunct, was the youth affiliate of the Independent Socialist League, also defunct, and was cited by the Attorney General until 7/18/58.

In 1953 the Department requested a name check concerning Drinnon, a doctoral candidate at the University of Minnesota, who was writing a dissertation and wished to review anarchist and subversive literature seized by the Government during World War I. The Department was advised that Bufiles contained no identifiable information concerning Drinnon.

In May, 1960, it was reported that a protest signed by nearly 300 University of California faculty members, including Richard Drinnon, attacked the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as "insidious and harmful."

Bufiles reveal that we initiated an Internal Security Investigation of "Frontier Magazine" in 1954, but no information was developed indicating Communist Party membership of any of its staff members. Several issues of this magazine have made very derogatory references to the FBI.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
LEWISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA 17837

March 5, 1974

Ms. Ann Abrams
3770 Paces Ferry Road, N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30327

Dear Ms. Abrams:

In June 1917 federal raiders scooped up the correspondence of Goldman/Berkman. These materials disappeared behind the walls of the Department of Justice, never, to my knowledge, to reappear. Hence there is little (next to nothing) at Amsterdam or elsewhere on the events involving the Ferrer Center in the period 1911-15.

Since it has just come out, you may not be aware of Laurence Veysey's The Communal Experience (NY: Harper & Row, 1973). It has a chapter on "The Ferrer Colony and Modern School of Stelton, New Jersey" (77-177). - In a phrase, one hundred copiously annotated pages which should be most helpful and important to you. If you have questions about other materials, do write Professor Veysey (History, University of California at Santa Cruz) directly and tell him I suggested you do so.

Thank you for the good words about my biography. I wish you every success with your topic. You would do me a real favor by informing me when it is published in whole or in part.

Cordially,

Richard Drinnon

jmp

61-2?-121

Here are some pertinent facts to further explain the material I need.

[illegible] seeking correspondence and documents relating to:

(1) The Ferrer Center and School in New York, 1911-1915
(2) The "Communist-Anarchist" movement in New York, 1915-1917
(3) Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, 1906-1917

The Ferrer Center and School: organized in New York city in 1911 by [illegible] Alexander Berkman and other followers of the so-called Communist-Anarchist movement. It was founded in memory of Francisco Ferrer, an [illegible] executed by the Spanish government in 1909. It contained elementary [illegible] adults and children and was a hang-out for all kinds of [illegible] moved to Stelton, New Jersey, but I am interested in [illegible] of its operation.

"Communist-Anarchist": a loosely formed association which [illegible] all government. Its principal activity was publication of the [illegible] Earth and it was dominated by the dynamic leadership of [illegible] Berkman. Although it was never affiliated with any [illegible] it came under government surveillance in 1917 because [illegible] outspoken opponents of American entry into World War I. [illegible] 1917, they were brought to trial in Federal Court for [illegible] United States and found guilty. After two years in prison they were deported to Europe. During the trial, their correspondence and all records of their activities were confiscated by the Justice Department and held as highly secret material.

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman: leaders of the "Communist-Anarchist" movement, described above. Both were Russian immigrants and involved in radical activities during their entire residence in the United States. Berkman spent 14 years in a Pennsylvania prison for an attempted [illegible] of Henry C. Frick.

req
rtd

Assoc. Dir. ____
Dep. AD Adm. ____
Dep. AD Inv. ____
Asst. Dir.:
Admin. ____
Comp. Syst. ____
Ext. Affairs ____
Files & Com. ____
Gen. Inv. ____
Ident. ____
Inspection ____
Intell. ____
Laboratory ____
Plan. & Eval. ____
Spec. Inv. ____
Training ____
Legal Coun. ____
Telephone Rm. ____
Director Sec'y ____

Encl

Legal Counsel

FROM	DATE OF DOCUMENT	SUSPENSE DATE
Sen. Talmadge	3/18/74	4/8/74
TO	**DATE RECEIVED**	**CONTROL NO.**
AG	3/28/74	1288
REC-84	61-4111-121	
DESCRIPTION	**REFERRED TO**	**DATE**
Letter of Mrs. Ann Abrams re formerly classified documents on Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman	~~OLA~~	~~3/28/74~~
	FBI	4-5-78
REMARKS		
Enclosure		
	PREPARE REPLY FOR SIGNATURE OF	
	FBI ~~Reclassify~~	

MAIL CONTROL

REPLACES AD-820 WHICH MAY BE USED

DJ-295 7-5-73

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MAR 29 1974

The Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

I have received the enclosed communication, which I submit for such consideration as it may warrant and for a report thereon, in duplicate, to accompany the return of the enclosure.

Your attention to this request is appreciated, and I want to thank you in advance for this assistance.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Herman E. Talmadge

Enclosure

MRS. EDWARD M. ABRAMS
3770 PACES FERRY ROAD, N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30327

March 18, 1974

Honorable Senator Herman E. Talmadge
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Talmadge,

I am presently a doctoral candidate at Emory University and writing my dissertation on the anarchist movement in the early decades of the twentieth century which was led by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman who were deported in 1920. Unfortunately, the documents I need were confiscated by the Justice Department in 1918.

Recently, I read an article in the New York Times which indicated that scholars are being allowed to use formerly classified documents when their need for secrecy no longer exists. I am enclosing a copy of the article and you will note that the documents released in this case were from the 1940's while those I am seeking are from roughly 1911 to 1918.

I am also enclosing a "fact sheet" to further explain the documents I need and a letter from Professor Richard Drinnon, the biographer of Emma Goldman, explaining that the Justice Department possesses these papers.

I would appreciate it very much if you could have someone from your office contact the Justice Department and see if it would be possible for me to gain access to these documents. Of course I understand that in order to see them, it may be necessary for me to review the material in Washington.

Thank you very much for your consideration in this matter.

Yours Sincerely,

Mrs. Ann Uhry Abrams

3770 P

61-211-121

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 10, 1974

Scholar Gets F.B.I. File on Ezra Pound

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

A young literature scholar here is finding that using F.B.I. files instead of graduate students as research assistants can prove a sometimes frustrating, sometimes rewarding technique.

The scholar, C. David Heymann, won approval last fall from the Federal Bureau of Investigation to receive its files on Ezra Pound. The bureau had collected extensive evidence against the expatriate poet for a 1943 treason indictment charging him with collaborating with the Fascist Government of Mussolini.

Mr. Heymann, a 29-year-old Pound specialist on leave from the State University of New York at Stony Brook, L. I., has received 12 volumes of the bureau's 14-volume dossier at his office on Riverside Drive. He has already unearthed what he regards as valuable new information about the poet's life and associates, and several mysteries produced by the bureau's heavy censoring.

Last July, Elliot L. Richardson, who was then the Attorney General, issued an order that inactive F.B.I. files could be turned over to bona fide historians and scholars. Among those released under the new policy were the dossiers on Pound, Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers, and Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Mr. Heymann's request for the Pound material is apparently the first to be honored.

Excisions Planned

The bureau made clear, however, that certain information would be excised, including the names of informants, the names of law enforcement officers and "unsubstantiated charges and defatory material."

The bureau has a three-man unit to do the censoring. The agents, apparently duplicate the original file, go through prohibited material with a felt pen and then send copies of the copies to those requesting the material.

Most of the Pound file consists of evidence gathered for presentation in court of the poet's activities for the Mussolini regime. Pound, who had lived in Italy since 1925 but kept his American citizenship, made propaganda broadcasts for Mussolini during World War II. The evidence shows that he was paid for his services.

The poet was indicted on treason charges in July 1943 to stand trial by reason of insanity.

Until the indictments were quashed in 1958, he was kept as a patient at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington. He returned to Italy after his release, and died there in 1972.

The F.B.I. dossier has a number of letters from Pound to Mussolini containing unsolicited advice about propaganda and elaborations of the poet's eccentric economic theories. On one of them Mussolini's secretary wrote, for the dictator's guidance, that a particular economic scheme was "comparable in its usefulness, neither more nor less, to a motor which uses water as a fuel."

For Mr. Heymann, the most interesting part of the file was the reports of interviews by F.B.I. agents with friends of Pound. Though their names are blacked out, their titles or other identification is often left in, so that the friends are easily identified.

Among those interviewed were Archibald Macleish and William Carlos Williams, the poets; James Laughlin, president of New Directions, Pound's publisher; George Antheil, the composer, and Richard Aldington, the novelist.

Mr. Heymann said he had found it surprising that all were apparently cooperative and open with the F.B.I. agents in agent who interviewed Mr. Williams wrote that "though distasteful to him to do so he would be willing to testify against Dr. Pound if it became necessary."

Mr. Laughlin is described as being "sorry for Pound, believing that Pound has turned traitor because of a mental condition."

Mr. Heymann intends to use the F.B.I. material in a book he is writing called "Ezra Pound: The Last Rower" for Richard Seaver-Viking Books. The title comes from a remark of Jean Cocteau, a collaborator with the French fascists, describing Pound as "the last rower on the river of the dead."

The F.B.I. originally told Mr. Heymann that it would cost him $600 for copying costs. However, several other researchers have requested the Pound material, so that the cost is now expected to be less.

Associated Press

The late Ezra Pound saluting on arrival in Naples, Italy, in 1958 after his release from a U.S. mental hospital.

psychiatrist

April 10, 1974
1 - Mr. Mintz

REC-84 61-291-121

Honorable Herman E. Talmadge
United States Senate
Washington, D. C. 20510

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333

Dear Senator Talmadge:

Your letter of March 22nd to Attorney General William B. Saxbe, enclosing a letter from Mrs. Ann Uhry Abrams, with enclosures, has been referred to this Bureau and was received on April 5th.

We are currently searching our files in an attempt to locate the material Mrs. Abrams requested and we will be in touch directly with her as soon as possible. I am returning the enclosures as you requested.

MAILED 22
APR 10 1974
FBI

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Enclosures (4)

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosures (5)
1 - Atlanta - Enclosures (5)
1 - Congressional Services Office - Enclosures (5)
1 - Bufile 62-115530 (FOI-REPLIES)
NOTE: Bufiles contain nothing identifiable with correspondent and we have had cordial relations with Senator Talmadge in the past.

ed:cmc (10)

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APR 24 1974

MAIL ROOM ☑ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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From
THE ATTORN GENERAL

3/29

Deputy Attorney General	
Solicitor General	
Director of Public Information	
Assistant Attorney General for Administration	
Assistant Attorney General, Antitrust	
Assistant Attorney General, Civil	
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights	
Assistant Attorney General, Criminal	
Assistant Attorney General, Land & Nat. Resources	
Assistant Attorney General, Legal Counsel	XXX
Assistant Attorney General, OLA	
Assistant Attorney General, Tax	
Administrator, DEA	
Administrator, LEAA	
Chairman, Board of Immigration Appeals	
Chairman, Parole Board	
Commissioner, I&NS	
Director, Bureau of Prisons	
Director, Community Relations Service	
Director, FBI	
Pardon Attorney	
Records	

Attention _____

REMARKS:

May 10, 1974

1 - Mr. Mintz
1 - Mr. Wannall - Enclosures (4)

Mrs. Ann Uhry Abrams
3770 Paces Ferry Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Gaj/ghw

Dear Mrs. Abrams:

Please refer to your letter of March 18th, with enclosures, to Senator Herman E. Talmadge which was referred to Attorney General William B. Saxbe who forwarded it to this Bureau.

MAILED 6 MAY 10 1974 FBI

In response to your request, enclosed is a copy of Attorney General Order 528-73 which sets forth instituted policies pertaining to the Freedom of Information Act. Under this order, certain information, with specific deletions, which in the past this Bureau has not made available to the public, would be released to qualified persons as a matter of administrative discretion.

Pursuant to Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 16.9, we are authorized to charge a prescribed rate for furnishing copies of information and for time spent searching and screening our records. The files concerning Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman and Ferrer Center consist of voluminous pages and based on a preliminary estimate we anticipate the cost to process your request to be $1,410. A twenty-five percent deposit or $352, payable by check or money order to the Treasurer of the United States, will be required to initiate processing; however, payment of deposit should not be interpreted as a guarantee that you will be furnished all of the material you requested. As an alternative, you may confer with this Bureau in an attempt to reformulate your request in a manner which will reduce the cost and meet your needs.

INDEXED COPY FILED IN

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1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosures (4)
1 - Atlanta (See Bureau letter to the Honorable Herman E. Talmadge 4/10/74)
1 - Bufile 62-115530 (FOI Replies)

REC-98 61-291-122

5 MAY 13 1974

ed:lk (9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Mrs. Ann Uhry Abrams

If you desire us to process your request on the basis of the above estimate, advise us in writing and forward the designated deposit. Thereafter, we will acknowledge receipt of your deposit and begin processing as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles contain nothing identifiable with correspondent. We have had cordial relations with Senator Talmadge in the past. Bufiles contain voluminous see references and several main files each regarding the subjects of Mrs. Abrams' inquiry. Senator Talmadge's letter of March 22nd was answered on April 10th and he was advised that we would respond directly with Mrs. Abrams regarding her request.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

MAR 22 1974

The Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

I have received the enclosed communication, which I submit for such consideration as it may warrant and for a report thereon, in duplicate, to accompany the return of the enclosure.

Your attention to this request is appreciated, and I want to thank you in advance for this assistance.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Herman E. Talmadge

Enclosure

MRS. EDWARD M. . AMS
3770 PACES FERRY ROAD, N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30327

March 18, 1974

Honorable Senator Herman E. Talmadge
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. [illegible]

Dear Mr. Talmadge,

I am presently a doctoral candidate at Emory University and writing my dissertation on the anarchist movement in the early decades of the twentieth century which was led by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman who were deported in 1920. Unfortunately, the documents I need were confiscated by the Justice Department in 1918.

Recently, I read an article in the New York Times which indicated that scholars are being allowed to use formerly classified documents when their need for secrecy no longer exists. I am enclosing a copy of the article and you will note that the documents released in this case were from the 1940's while those I am seeking are from roughly 1911 to 1918.

I am also enclosing a "fact sheet" to further explain the documents I need and a letter from Professor Richard Drinnon, the biographer of Emma Goldman, explaining that the Justice Department possesses these papers.

I would appreciate it very much if you could have someone from your office contact the Justice Department and see if it would be possible for me to gain access to these documents. Of course I understand that in order to see them, it may be necessary for me to review the material in Washington.

Thank you very much for your consideration in this matter.

Yours Sincerely,

Mrs. Ann Uhry Abrams

Mrs. Ann Uhry Abrams

XEROX

MAY 17 1974

ENCLOSU.

61-291-122

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
LEWISBURG, PENNSYLVANIA 17837

March 5, 1974

3770 Paces Ferry Road, N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30327

Dear Ms. Abrams:

In June 1917 federal raiders scooped up the correspondence of Goldman/Berkman. These materials disappeared behind the walls of the Department of Justice, never, to my knowledge, to reappear. Hence there is little (next to nothing) at Amsterdam or elsewhere on the events involving the Ferrer Center in the period 1911-15.

Since it has just come out, you may not be aware of Laurence Veysey's The Communal Experience (NY: Harper & Row, 1973). It has a chapter on "The Ferrer Colony and Modern School of Stelton, New Jersey" (77-177). In a phrase, one hundred copiously annotated pages which should be most helpful and important to you. If you have questions about other materials, do write Professor Veysey (History, University of California at Santa Cruz) directly and tell him I suggested you do so.

Thank you for the good words about my biography. I wish you every success with your topic. You would do me a real favor by informing me when it is published in whole or in part.

Cordially,

Richard Drinnon

jmp

ENCLOSURE

61-291-122

There are some pertinent facts to further explain the [illegible]

[illegible] seeking correspondence and documents relating to

(1) The Ferrer Center and School in New York, 1911-1915
(2) The "Communist-Anarchist" movement in New York, 1908-1917
(3) Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, 1906-1927

The Ferrer Center and School: organized in New York city in 1911 by Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and other followers of the so-called Communist-Anarchist movement. It was founded in memory of Francisco Ferrer, an early [illegible] executed by the Spanish government in 1909. It conducted [illegible] for adults and children and was a hang-out for all kinds of radicals. [illegible] moved to Stelton, New Jersey, but I am interested in [illegible] details of its operation.

"Communist-Anarchism": a loosely formed association [illegible] and governments. Its principal authority was published in [illegible] Mother Earth and it was dominated by the dynamic leadership of [illegible] and Alexander Berkman. Although it was never affiliated with any [illegible] its core under government surveillance in 1917 became [illegible] outspoken opponents of American entry into World War I. [illegible] they were brought to trial in Federal Court for [illegible] United States and found guilty. After two years in prison they were deported to Europe. During the trial, their correspondence and all records of their activities were confiscated by the Justice Department and held as highly secret material.

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman: leaders of the "Communist-Anarchist" movement, described above. Both were Russian immigrants [illegible] political activities during their entire residence in the United States. Berkman spent 14 years in a Pennsylvania prison for [illegible] of Frick, Henry Clay Frick

61-291-122

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 10, 197

Scholar Gets F.B.I. File on Ezra Pound

40

By PAUL L. MONTGOMERY

A young literature scholar here is finding that using F.B.I. files instead of graduate students as research assistants can prove a sometimes frustrating, sometimes rewarding technique.

The scholar, C. David Heymann, won approval last fall from the Federal Bureau of Investigation to receive its files on Ezra Pound. The bureau had collected extensive evidence against the expatriate poet for a 1943 treason indictment charging him with collaborating with the Fascist Government of Mussolini.

Mr. Heymann, a 29-year-old Pound specialist on leave from the State University of New York at Stony Brook, L. I., has received 12 volumes of the bureau's 14-volume dossier at his office on Riverside Drive. He has already unearthed what he regards as valuable new information about the poet's life and associates, and several mysteries produced by the Bureau's heavy censoring.

Last July, Elliot L. Richardson, who was then the Attorney General, issued an order that inactive F.B.I. files could be turned over to bona fide historians and scholars. Among those released under the new policy were the dossiers on Pound, Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers, and Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Mr. Heymann's request for the Pound material is apparently the first to be honored.

Excisions Planned

The bureau made clear, however, that certain information would be excised, including the names of informants, the names of law enforcement officers and "unsubstantiated charges and defatory material."

The bureau has a three-man unit to do the censoring. The agents, apparently duplicate the original file, go through prohibited material with a felt pen and then send copies of the copies to those requesting the material.

Most of the Pound file consists of evidence gathered for presentation in court of the poet's activities for the Mussolini regime. Pound, who had lived in Italy since 1925, kept his American citizenship to stand trial by reason of insanity.

Until the indictments were quashed in 1958, he was kept as a patient at St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Washington. He returned to Italy after his release, and died there in 1972.

The F.B.I. dossier has a number of letters from Pound to Mussolini containing unsolicited advice about propaganda and elaborations of the poet's eccentric economic theories. On one of them Mussolini's secretary wrote, for the dictator's guidance, that a particular economic scheme was "comparable in its usefulness, neither more nor less, to a motor which uses water as a fuel."

For Mr. Heymann, the most interesting part of the file was the reports of interviews by F.B.I. agents with friends of Pound. Though their names are blacked out, their titles or other identification is often left in, so that the friends are easily identified.

Among those interviewed were Archibald Macleish and William Carlos Williams, the poets, James Laughlin, president of New Directions, Pound's publisher, George Antheil, composer, and Richard Aldington, the novelist.

Mr. Heymann said he had found it surprising that all were apparently cooperative and open with the F.B.I. agents in agent who interviewed Mr. Williams wrote that "though distasteful to him to do so he would be willing to testify against Dr. Pound if it became necessary."

Mr. Laughlin is described as being "sorry for Pound, believing that Pound has turned traitor because of a mental condition."

Mr. Heymann intends to use the F.B.I. material in a book he is writing called "Ezra Pound: The Last Rower" for Richard Seaver-Viking Books. The title comes from a remark of Jean Cocteau, a collaborator with the French fascists, describing Pound as "the last rower on the river of the dead."

The F.B.I. originally told Mr. Heymann that it would cost him $600 for copying costs. However, several other researchers have requested the Pound material, so that the cost is now expected to be less.

Associated Press

The late Ezra Pound saluting on arrival in Naples, Italy, in 1958 after his release from a U.S. mental hospital.

April 5, 1974

1 - Mr. Mintz

61- 2 91-

Professor Paul Avrich
Department of History
Queens College of the City
University of New York
Flushing, New York 11367

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 Gaigh

100-437610-8

Dear Professor Avrich:

In reply to your letter of March 20th, we are enclosing a reprint which sets forth Department of Justice regulations implementing the Freedom of Information Act.

By way of explanation of the costs of reviewing our files, under the Freedom of Information Act and current court decisions interpreting that Act, FBI investigatory files compiled for law enforcement purposes are exempt from disclosure without regard to their age. However, former Attorney General Elliot Richardson on July 11, 1973, determined as a matter of administrative discretion, files more than 15 years old would be made available to historical researchers subject to certain deletions.

Therefore, prior to the release of any FBI documents, they are examined to excise names of informants, investigatory techniques, unsubstantiated charges and other authorized categories. Obviously, as a file becomes older, the necessity of making deletions lessens, but nevertheless the need does exist. For instance, certain investigatory techniques do not change, and relatives of informants and individuals mentioned in old files may be alive today and deserve protection of their privacy.

You will note Section 16.9 (b)(2) and (6) of the Department of Justice regulations authorizes a charge of $5 an hour for clerical examination and $15 an hour for supervisory

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
1 - Bufile 62-115530 (FOI-REPLIES)
NOTE: Law (6)

MAILED 22
APR 05 1974
FBI

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examination of our files. The $1,655 figure was arrived at by estimating the number of hours we expect to take to review the files you are requesting and multiplying that figure by $5 an hour.

We trust this explanation will answer your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Enclosure

NOTE: Correspondent has requested information on raids which took place soon after World War I in which the Bureau of Investigation allegedly participated. We have been unable to locate through indices and old German Bureau files the subject matter of two of his requests. However, he was advised by letter 3-8-74 that we estimated it would cost $1,655 to review the files concerning the materials we had located. He was requested to furnish a $400 deposit to commence our review. Correspondent's letter dated 3-20-74 inquired as to the basis of that figure.

QUEENS COLLEGE
of THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
FLUSHING • NEW YORK 11367

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY TELEPHONE: 212-445-7500

March 20, 1974

Clarence M. Kelley
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Mr. Kelley:

Thank you for your letter of March 8th. I am pleased that you have located your files on Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, and other American anarchists, and I am most anxious to examine them, as they are likely to be extremely important for my research.

I am puzzled, however, about the "cost of reviewing these files" of $1,655 or more, which you mention. The materials which I wish to examine are all some 50 or 60 years old, involving individuals all long since dead. They are all government documents which antedate the thirty-year or even fifty-year rule to which state papers are sometimes subject. As such, they should be available for inspection by legitimate scholars without any substantial cost, let alone the astronomical figure that you suggest. If I were required to pay a comparable fee for every set of papers that I must examine, I would be unable to carry out any significant research.

May I point out that I am not requesting microfilm or xerox copies of all these archives, but only that I be allowed to read them and make notes (I shall be happy to come to Washington to do so). Nor do I ask that paid clerical personnel sift the materials for me, as that is an essential step in the research, and one which must be performed by the scholar himself. I might add that I am a recognized authority on the history of anarchism, having published four books and numerous articles on the subject.

61-3 91
NOT RECORDED
APR 10 1974

Yours sincerely,

Paul Avrich

Paul Avrich
Professor of History

~~CORRESPONDENCE~~
LEGAL COUNSEL

100-439610

June 7, 1974

1 - Mr. Mintz

61-291-123

Mrs. Ann U. Abrams
3770 Paces Ferry Road, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Dear Mrs. Abrams:

Your letter was received on May 20th.

Due to the fact that the data you are seeking concerning the subjects of your inquiry is contained on microfilm and because of the time involved in searching for this information, a reformulated estimated charge for the material you desire is being prepared and you will be advised as soon as it is completed.

MAILED 20
JUN 7 1974
FBI

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

1 - The Deputy Attorney General - Enclosure
1 - Bufile 62-115530 (FOI-REPLIES)

NOTE: Bufiles indicate that Mrs. Abrams wrote to Senator Talmadge on March 18th seeking information regarding the anarchist movement in the early decades of the 20th century which were led by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. She also requested information regarding the Ferrer Center and Ferrer Society. Senator Talmadge's letter was forwarded to this Bureau and Mrs. Abrams was advised by letter of May 10th regarding an estimated charge for the information she desired. She was also sent a copy of AGO 528-73. Bufiles contain voluminous see references and several main files each regarding the subjects of Mrs. Abrams' inquiry. In connection with her reformulated request contained in her current letter, our records contain approximately 100 references which are on microfilm.

ed:bjy (7)

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Director Sec'y ____

58 JUN 18 1974

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MRS. EDWARD M. ABRAMS
3770 PACES FERRY ROAD, N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30327

May 15, 1974

Mr. Clarence M. Kelley, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Mr. Kelley,

Emma

Thank you so much for your letter of May 10 concerning release of your files of the Ferrer School and the Berkman-Goldman papers.

Since the cost is so high, I would like a break down of the material, if possible, so I could see which part of it I might want. I am primarily interested in the Ferrer School during its existence in New York between 1911 and 1915 and the Goldman-Berkman papers from the same time period. Perhaps this section of the papers would not require processing the entire record.

I am most appreciative of your attention on this matter and I am anxious to obtain some of the documents.

Yours Sincerely,

Ann Abrams

Mrs. Ann U. Abrams

61-9LL-123

REC-110

3 JUN 10 1974

June 26, 1974

1 - Mr. Wannall
1 - Mr. Mintz

Mrs. Ann U. Abrams
3770 Paces Ferry Road, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 3/16/79 BY 23339

Dear Mrs. Abrams:

Please refer to my letter to you of June 7th.

In connection with your request, the information you desire pertaining to the Ferrer School and the Goldman-Berkman papers between 1911 and 1915 is contained on microfilm. As a result of the system used in keeping records at that time, the effort expended in searching for this data is very time consuming. It is not possible to advise you how much material you will be sent; however, as indicated in my prior letter, a reformulated estimated charge for any data we may locate and send you amounts to $625.

If you want us to process your request, advise us in writing and forward your check or money order for $156, payable to the Treasurer of the United States. Thereafter, we will acknowledge receipt of your deposit and begin processing.

For your information, due to an extremely heavy workload of requests previously received, the initiation of the processing of your request will necessarily be delayed; however, it will be handled as promptly as possible and you will be notified as soon as it is completed.

Sincerely yours,

C. M. Kelley

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

MAILED 20
JUN 27 1974
FBI

REC-5 61-11-124

EX-109

1 - The Deputy Attorney General
1 - Bufile 62-115530 (FOI-REPLIES)

NOTE: Bufiles contain prior correspondence in connection with Mrs. Abrams' request for information regarding Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Ferrer School and Ferrer Society. She has been furnished AGO 528-73 and an estimated charge. Her letter of 3/15/74 asked for only information between 1911 and 1915 and on June 7th, she was advised that a reformulated estimated charge would be furnished her. Bufiles contain voluminous see references and several main files regarding the subjects of Mrs. Abrams' request.

JCF/ahm

Farrington, 4706

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JAM/Rgb

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27
5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

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Spec. Inv. ____
Training ____
Legal Coun. ____
Telephone Rm. ____
Director Sec'y ____

TO : Mr. McDermott

DATE: 3-20-75

FROM : P. F. O'Connell

SUBJECT: EMMA GOLDMAN;
FERRERA SCHOOL;
FERRERA CENTER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/16/79 BY 2333 891/pw

REQUEST FOR TRANSFER OF FILES

On 3-18-75, Allen Oldberg, Associate General Counsel, Smithsonian Institution (381-5866), telephoned. He related that the Smithsonian has a Bureau "Archives of American Art," which is funded by Congress and contributions from the public. This Bureau collects and assembles information on American art and artists and makes it available to scholars of art and artists.

He stated the Ferrera School or Ferrera Center was operated from 1912 to 1918 by Emma Goldman, and alien anarchist. In 1918, the FBI arrested Goldman and siezed the records of the school. He said that a Mrs. Ann Uhry Abrams, Atlanta, Georgia, had requested files in this matter under Freedom of Information Act in 1974 but that she had not pursued matter because there would have been a charge of approximately $625 for duplication cost. Mr. Oldberg said that the Deputy Director of the "Archives of American Art" is doing research on radicalism in art versus radicalism in politics and was interested in making a determination as to whether there was any connection between the two as an artist could be a conservative artist but a radical, politically. He said that Section 2103, Paragraph 2, Title 44, U. S. Code provides,* "direct and effect the transfer to the National Archives of the United States of records of a Federal agency that have been in existence for more than fifty years and determined by the Archivist of the United States to have sufficient historical or other value to warrant their continued preservation by the United States Government, unless the head of the agency which has custody of them certifies in writing to the Administrator that they must be retained in his custody for use in the conduct of the regular current business of the agency." He stated he had been in contact with National Archives and Records Service and that in view of this provision in the U. S. Code he was requesting that the Bureau transfer these records to National Archives and Records Service which in turn could transfer them to the Smithsonian Institution.

REC 68 61-291-125

5 MAR 1975

*Administrator of GSA may

PFO:bpr
(3)
1 - Mr. Farrington, 4503 JB

CONTINUED - OVER

Correspondence with Mrs. Abrams is contained in serials 61-291-122, 123, 124. I explained to Mr. Oldberg that there would be a difference between a request for information of this type under the Freedom of Information Act and a transfer of the files inasmuch as under a Freedom of Information Act request the material furnished would not be a true copy of each item in the file. Certain types of information which are exempted under the Freedom of Information Act would be excised or deleted from the material furnished. Mr. Oldberg still felt that because of the age of the files they could possibly be transferred. I suggested to him that he prepare a request in writing and suggested that he direct his request to the National Archives and Records Service. Should such a request be received, it would be necessary for a review to be made of the records to determine whether it would be possible to transfer them. A few years ago we requested Archival authority to destroy various obsolete records and Archives denied our request to destroy a few files and requested we turn them over to Archives. We did so. These files involved such matters as obsolete material concerning activities and strikes, radical publications and agitators, and alien enemy visa matters concerning the international workers of the world dated in the 1920's; mail dated in 1920's concerning information regarding economic and labor conditions as well as revolutionary activities in Mexico; and material dated in 1920 concerning Japanese political and economic activities on West Coast of United States and Mexico. Archives was requested to apply Archives standard restriction for FBI material to these items. This restriction which applies to all documents less than 75 years old among records of any agency of the Government which are identifiable as having originated with the FBI which include quotations from or paraphrased statements that identify by name personnel of the Bureau or reveal Bureau's sources of information can be made available only as authorized by an appropriate official of the FBI.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

Assoc. Dir.
Dep.-A.D.-Adm.
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Telephone Rm.
Director Sec'y

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Washington, D.C. 20560
U.S.A.

July 9, 1975

Mrs. Ester Daniello
Freedom of Information Act Unit
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Mrs. Daniello:

Re: Transfer of the Records of the Ferrer Center to the National Archives and Subsequent Transfer to the Archives of American Art

The attached letter to Dr. James B. Rhoads, Archivist of the United States, reflects the Smithsonian's formal request for a transfer of the records of the Ferrer Center to the National Archives and then to the Smithsonian Institution. We appreciate your assistance in helping us set up the procedures for the transfer.

We hope that the transfer can be effected within a reasonable period of time.

Sincerely yours,

Alan D. Ullberg

Alan D. Ullberg
Associate General Counsel

5 ENCLOSURE

EX 104

REC-57

Att'd

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DIRECT DIAL TO DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

June 26, 1974

Mrs. Ann U. Abrams
3770 Paces Ferry Road, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Dear Mrs. Abrams:

Please refer to my letter to you of June 7th.

In connection with your request, the information you desire pertaining to the Ferrer School and the Goldman-Berkman papers between 1911 and 1915 is contained on microfilm. As a result of the system used in keeping records at that time, the effort expended in searching for this data is very time consuming. It is not possible to advise you how much material you will be sent; however, as indicated in my prior letter, a reformulated estimated charge for any data we may locate and send you amounts to $625.

If you want us to process your request, advise us in writing and forward your check or money order for $156, payable to the Treasurer of the United States. Thereafter, we will acknowledge receipt of your deposit and begin processing.

For your information, due to an extremely heavy workload of requests previously received, the initiation of the processing of your request will necessarily be delayed; however, it will be handled as promptly as possible and you will be notified as soon as it is completed.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

61-211-126

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Washington, D.C. 20560
U.S.A.

July 9, 1975

Mr. John J. McDermott
Assistant Director
Files and Communications Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C. 20535

Dear Mr. McDermott:

Re: Transfer of the Records of the Ferrer Center to the National Archives and Subsequent Transfer to the Archives of American Art

I understand that Mr. Paul O'Connell has retired, so I am sending you the attached letter for your information.

As you can see from the enclosed letter to Dr. James B. Rhoads, the Smithsonian has made a formal request to the Archivist of the United States to set in motion his request to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a transfer of the records of the Ferrer Center from the FBI files. The Smithsonian appreciates the assistance of your division in working out the procedures to be followed.

We hope that the records can be transferred within a reasonable time.

Sincerely yours,

Alan D. Ullberg

Alan D. Ullberg
Associate General
Counsel

Att'd

ENCLOSURE 66-211-126

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

May 10, 1974

Mrs. Ann Uhry Abrams
3770 Paces Ferry Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Dear Mrs. Abrams:

Please refer to your letter of March 18th, with enclosures, to Senator Herman E. Talmadge which was referred to Attorney General William B. Saxbe who forwarded it to this Bureau.

In response to your request, enclosed is a copy of Attorney General Order 528-73 which sets forth instituted policies pertaining to the Freedom of Information Act. Under this order, certain information, with specific deletions, which in the past this Bureau has not made available to the public, would be released to qualified persons as a matter of administrative discretion.

Pursuant to Title 28, Code of Federal Regulations, Section 16.9, we are authorized to charge a prescribed rate for furnishing copies of information and for time spent searching and screening our records. The files concerning Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman and Ferrer Center consist of voluminous pages and based on a preliminary estimate we anticipate the cost to process your request to be $1,410. A twenty-five percent deposit or $352, payable by check or money order to the Treasurer of the United States, will be required to initiate processing; however, payment of deposit should not be interpreted as a guarantee that you will be furnished all of the material you requested. As an alternative, you may confer with this Bureau in an attempt to reformulate your request in a manner which will reduce the cost and meet your needs.

61-271-126

Mrs. Ann Uhry Abrams

If you desire us to process your request on the basis of the above estimate, advise us in writing and forward the designated deposit. Thereafter, we will acknowledge receipt of your deposit and begin processing as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Clarence M. Kelley
Director

Enclosure

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Washington, D.C. 20560
U.S.A.

July 9, 1975

Dr. James B. Rhoads
Archivist of the United States
General Services Administration
Washington, D. C. 20408

Dear Burt:

I am requesting that you exercise your authority, as Archivist of the United States, to effect a transfer to the National Archives and a subsequent transfer to the Archives of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution of records that appear to be in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These records have been in custody for over 50 years, from the time they were seized by United States' agents in 1918 in connection with the arrest and deportation of a well-known anarchist, Miss Emma Goldman.

For approximately six years prior to 1918, Miss Goldman and her associates operated in New York City a school named after the Spanish anarchist, Francisco Ferrer. This school, called the Ferrer Center, provided instruction in literature, philosophy, music, and art. Its art class was its strongest feature. Two of America's best-known painters, Robert Henri and George Bellows, taught there, and some of the students became leading figures in American art history.

Since 1970 the Smithsonian has operated the Archives of American Art as a bureau of the Institution. The Archives was founded in Detroit in 1954 as an organization committed to aiding research and scholarship in the history of the visual arts in the United States. The Archives achieves this goal by acquiring, organizing, and preserving the primary documentation needed by art historians that pertains to all phases of the visual arts in this country. The Congress already has appropriated over

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one million dollars for the operation of the Archives, and the current level of federal funding approaches $300,000 per year.

The Archives would like to obtain the records of the Ferrer Center, which was an important institution of that period for the training of American artists, many of whom exercised significant influence in the development of the visual arts in this country. Since the Archives is funded by the Congress for the specific purpose of preserving the records of the visual artistic life of our nation, this repository would seem to be the logical place for these records to be housed.

The immediate need for the records of the Ferrer Center has been demonstrated in the course of research conducted by the Deputy Director of the Archives of American Art, Mr. Garnett McCoy, on the relationship between radical politics and radical art forms. Mr. McCoy has focused on the period 1910 to 1930. In his research on the connections between political radicalism on the part of American artists and radicalism in art form or style, Mr. McCoy repeatedly has been led to the influences of the Ferrer Center.

Through discussions with personnel of the FBI, the Smithsonian has ascertained that the Bureau may well have these records. Their existence within FBI files also seems to have been confirmed in two letters directed to a scholar of art history, Mrs. Ann Abrams, from Clarence Kelley, Director of the FBI, in response to her personal requests for these materials. These letters were dated May 10, and June 26, 1974, and copies are attached. Discussions have been held between Mr. Paul O'Connell, the Inspector-Deputy Assistant Director of the Files and Communications Division of the FBI, and Mr. Alan D. Ullberg, Associate General Counsel of the Smithsonian, wherein it has been determined that such records are a possible subject of transfer. Assuming that the records are in existence and can be located, some screening might be necessary prior to a transfer. Screening should be minimal, however, since the Smithsonian is interested only in the records maintained by the Ferrer Center, which probably are not closely related to the Bureau's investigatory files concerning Miss Emma Goldman.

The Smithsonian requests that the Archivist of the United States exercise his authority under subsection (2) of §2103 of Title 44 of the United States Code (copy attached), to effect a transfer of these records

HISTORICAL AND REVISION NOTES

Based on 44 U.S. Code, 1964 ed., § 397(j) (June 30, 1949, ch. 288, title V, § 507, as added Sept. 5, 1950, ch. 849, § 6(d), 64 Stat. 583, and amended July 12, 1962, ch. 703, § 1(o), (p), 66 Stat. 594; July 12, 1955, ch. 329, 69 Stat. 297; Aug. 12, 1955, ch. 859, 69 Stat. 695; July 3, 1956, ch. 513, § 4, 70 Stat. 494; June 13, 1957, Pub. L. 85-51, 71 Stat. 69; Mar. 15, 1958, Pub. L. 85-341, § 1(1), 72 Stat. 34).

SECTION REFERRED TO IN OTHER SECTIONS

This section is referred to in sections 2901, 3102, 3107 of this title.

§ 2102. Archivist of the United States.

The Administrator of General Services shall appoint the Archivist of the United States. (Pub. L. 90-620, Oct. 22, 1968, 82 Stat. 1287.)

HISTORICAL AND REVISION NOTES

Based on 44 U.S. Code, 1964 ed., § 391(a) (June 30, 1949, ch. 288, title I, § 104, 63 Stat. 381).

This section incorporates only the last sentence of paragraph (a) of former section 391. The balance of that section will be found in sections 1506, 2301, 2501, and 2902 of the revision.

SECTION REFERRED TO IN OTHER SECTIONS

This section is referred to in sections 2901, 3102, 3107 of this title.

§ 2103. Acceptance of records for historical preservation.

When it appears to the Administrator of General Services to be in the public interest, he may—

(1) accept for deposit with the National Archives of the United States the records of a Federal agency or of the Congress determined by the Archivist of the United States to have sufficient historical or other value to warrant their continued preservation by the United States Government;

(2) direct and effect the transfer to the National Archives of the United States of records of a Federal agency that have been in existence for more than fifty years and determined by the Archivist of the United States to have sufficient historical or other value to warrant their continued preservation by the United States Government, unless the head of the agency which has custody of them certifies in writing to the Administrator that they must be retained in his custody for use in the conduct of the regular current business of the agency;

(3) direct and effect, with the approval of the head of the originating agency, or if the existence of the agency has been terminated, then with the approval of his successor in function, if any, the transfer of records deposited or approved for deposit with the National Archives of the United States to public or educational institutions or associations; title to the records to remain vested in the United States unless otherwise authorized by Congress; and

(4) transfer materials from private sources authorized to be received by the Administrator by section 3106 of this title.

(Pub. L. 90-620, Oct. 22, 1968, 82 Stat. 1287.)

HISTORICAL AND REVISION NOTES

Based on 44 U.S. Code, 1964 ed., § 397(a) (June 30, 1949, ch. 288, title V, § 507, as added Sept. 5, 1950, ch. 849, § 6(d), 64 Stat. 583; and amended July 12, 1952, ch. 703, § 1 (o), (p), 66 Stat. 594; July 12, 1955, ch. 329, 69 Stat. 297; Aug. 12, 1955, ch. 859, 69 Stat. 695; July 3, 1956, ch. 513, § 4, 70 Stat. 494; June 13, 1957, Pub. L. 85-51, 71 Stat. 69).

SECTION REFERRED TO IN OTHER SECTIONS

This section is referred to in sections 2101, 2901, 3102, 3107 of this title.

§ 2104. Responsibility for custody, use, and withdrawal of records.

The Administrator of General Services shall be responsible for the custody, use, and withdrawal of records transferred to him. When records, the use of which is subject to statutory limitations and restrictions, are so transferred, permissive and restrictive statutory provisions with respect to the examination and use of records applicable to the head of the agency from which the records were transferred or to employees of that agency are applicable to the Administrator, the Archivist of the United States, and to the employees of the General Services Administration, respectively. When the head of an agency states in writing restrictions that appear to him to be necessary or desirable in the public interest on the use or examination of records being considered for transfer from his custody to the Administrator, the Administrator shall impose the restrictions on the records so transferred, and may not remove or relax the restrictions without the concurrence in writing of the head of the agency from which the material was transferred, or of his successor in function, if any. Statutory and other restrictions referred to in this section shall remain in force until the records have been in existence for fifty years unless the Administrator by order determines as to specific bodies of records that the restrictions shall remain in force for a longer period. Restriction on the use or examination of records deposited with the National Archives of the United States imposed by section 3 of the National Archives Act, approved June 19, 1934, shall continue in force regardless of the expiration of the tenure of office of the official who imposed them but may be removed or relaxed by the Administrator with the concurrence in writing of the head of the agency from which material was transferred or of his successor in function, if any. (Pub. L. 90-620, Oct. 22, 1968, 82 Stat. 1288.)

HISTORICAL AND REVISION NOTES

Based on 44 U.S. Code, 1964 ed., § 397(b) (June 30, 1949, ch. 288, title V, § 507, as added Sept. 5, 1950, ch. 849, § 6(d), 64 Stat. 583).

SECTION REFERRED TO IN OTHER SECTIONS

This section is referred to in sections 2101, 2901, 3102, 3107 of this title.

§ 2105. Preservation, arrangement, duplication, exhibition of records.

The Administrator of General Services shall provide for the preservation, arrangement, repair and rehabilitation, duplication and reproduction (including microcopy publications), description, and exhibition of records or other documentary material transferred to him as may be needful or appropriate, including the preparation and publication of inventories, indexes, catalogs, and other finding aids or guides to facilitate their use. He may also prepare guides and other finding aids to Federal records and, when approved by the National Historical Publications Commission, publish such historical works and

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to the National Archives of the United States on the basis that they "have been in existence for more than fifty years and determined by the Archivist of the United States to have sufficient historical or other value to warrant their continued preservation by the United States Government . . . ."

If you agree with the Smithsonian's determination as to the historical importance of these records, we would appreciate your forwarding this letter to Mr. Clarence M. Kelley, with a covering letter attesting to your agreement with our evaluation of the importance of these materials. We would like to have these records transferred from the FBI to the National Archives, and then to the Archives of American Art of the Smithsonian Institution. As you are aware, the statutory basis for such a second transfer is provided by subsection (3) of §2103 which provides, where appropriate, for retransfer by the National Archives to "public or educational institutions or associations . . . ."

If you require additional information to make your determination, please call me or Mr. McCoy. His telephone number is 381-6174. The Smithsonian very much wants these records for the Archives of American Art, so that they will be available to historians of American art and culture.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Blitzer
Assistant Secretary for
History and Art